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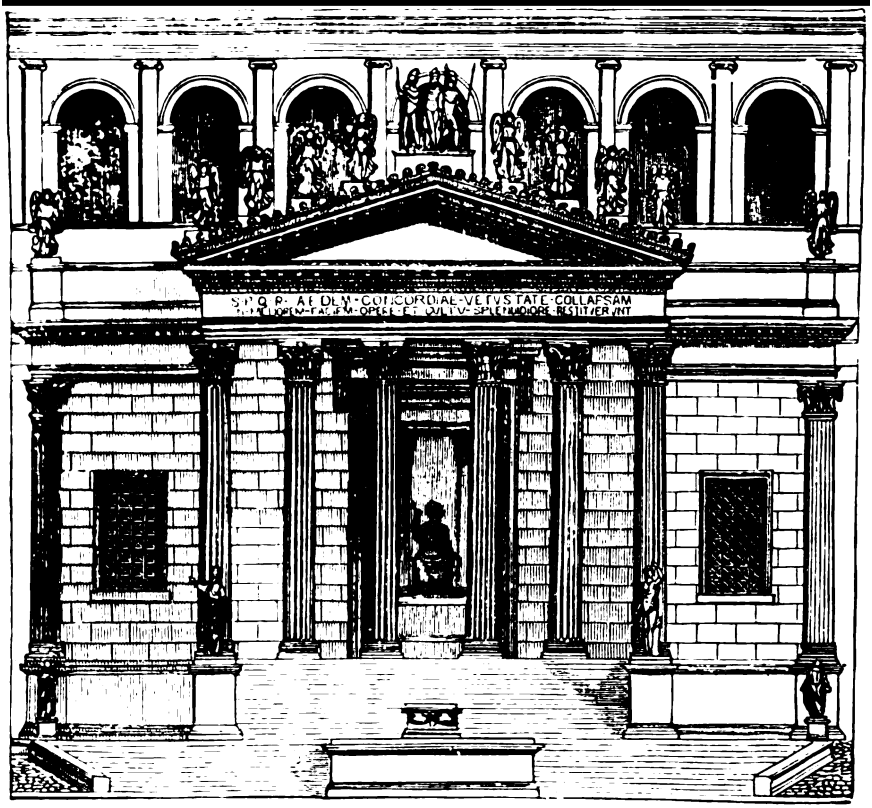

Select orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero

Marcus Tullius Cicero, Albert Harkness

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CICERO.

From a bronze medal struck by the town of Magnesia in Lydia.

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SELECT ORATIONS

OF

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO,

WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES.

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

BY

ALBERT HARKNESS, LL. D.,

PROFESSOR IN BROWN UNIVERSITY.

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PREFACE.

This edition of Cicero's Select Orations has been prepared expressly for school use. The ten orations which it contains are fine specimens of Roman eloquence in its various departments—forensic, senatorial, and judicial. They are arranged in the order in which, it is thought, they can be read to the best advantage.

The Notes to each oration are preceded by an introduction and by an analysis of the argument. They are arranged topically in such a manner as to keep the general scope of thought as constantly as possible before the mind of the student. It is hoped that this feature of the work will aid the instructor in his efforts to interest his pupils, and to develop in them habits of thought and of critical study.

It is the aim of the Notes to give the faithful student the key to all really difficult passages, and, at the same time, to furnish him such collateral information upon Roman manners and customs, upon Roman history and life, as will enable him to understand, appreciate, and enjoy these masterpieces of Roman oratory. In carrying out this purpose, however, care has been taken not to interfere with that course of direct instruction and illustration which belongs exclusively to the

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living teacher, but rather to prepare the way for it, and to give efficiency to it.

In the preparation of the Notes, important aid has been derived from the excellent editions of Cicero's Orations by Halm, Klotz, Crusius, Long, and others.

The Text is the result of a careful collation of the several editions most approved by European scholars. It is based, however, chiefly upon the critical labors of Halm and Klotz.

The Illustrations, taken from Forsyth's "Life of Cicero," will, it is hoped, be found both interesting and instructive.

In this connection I am happy to acknowledge my obligations to my esteemed friend, Mr. Edward H. Cutler, the accomplished Principal of the Classical Department of the Providence High-School. He has generously given me the benefit of his accurate scholarship and large professional experience, by placing at my disposal a valuable collection of notes, suggestions, and other materials, which have been of great service to me in the preparation of this work.

In conclusion, I desire to make my grateful acknowledgments to the classical instructors throughout the country who have received my previous works with such marked favor, and have used them with such fidelity and skill. To their hands this volume is now respectfully committed.

A. HARKNESS.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, *July*, 1873.

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Year of Cicero's age.	CICERO'S BOYHOOD: From the first to the sixteenth year of his age; from 106 to 91 B. C.	B.C.
1–16	Cicero was born on the 3d of January, 106 B. C., at Arpinum, in Latium. He was sent at an early age to Rome to be educated. He studied under the ablest teachers.	106–91
1	Birth of Cn. Pompey.	106
5	Victory of Marius over the Teutones, and of M. Antonius, the orator, over the pirates.	102
	The poet Archias, the instructor of Cicero, came to Rome. See Introduction, p. 214.	
6	Victory of Marius and Catulus over the Cimbri.	101
7	Birth of C. Julius Caesar.	100
	CICERO'S YOUTH: From the seventeenth to the twenty-fifth year of his age; 90 to 82 B. C.	
17–25	Cicero devoted himself especially to the study of elocution, rhetoric, philosophy, and law. He was a diligent student of Greek literature, and an attentive listener in the courts of justice and in the Forum.	90–82
17	Cicero assumed the toga, and was placed under the instruction of Q. Mucius Scaevola, the augur.	90
	Beginning of the Social War.	
18	Cicero served under Cn. Pompeius Strabo.	89
19	Cicero studied philosophy under Philo, from the Academy of Athens.	88

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Year of C.'s age.		B. C.
19	End of the Social War. Beginning of the Mithridatic War. Beginning of the Civil War between Marius and Sulla.	88
21	Death of Marius. Birth of Sallust, the historian.	86
25	Sulla made perpetual Dictator.	82
	CICERO AT THE BAR: From the twenty-sixth to the thirty-first year of his age; from 81 to 76 B. C.	
26	Cicero's first appearance as an advocate. He defended *P. Quintius* in the course of the year.	81
27	He distinguished himself by the defence of *Sex. Roscius.*	80
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29	Cicero visited Asia Minor. At Rhodes he heard Molo, the rhetorician, and Posidonius, the philosopher.	78
30	He returned to Rome, married Terentia, and resumed the practice of the law.	77
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33	He returned to Rome and resumed the practice of his profession. L. Lucullus took command against Mithridates.	74
37	Consulship of Cn. Pompey and M. Crassus. Cicero distinguished himself in the prosecution of *Verres* for extortion. Birth of Virgil, the poet.	70
38	Cicero, Curule Aedile.	69

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Year of C.'s age.		B. C.
40	Cn. Pompey was appointed commander in the war against the pirates.	67
41	Cicero, Praetor Urbanus. He delivered his *Oration for the Manilian Law*. See Introduction, p. 232.	66
42	Cicero declined a provincial government. Birth of Horace, the poet.	65
44	Cicero, consul, with C. Antonius as his colleague. He delivered his four *Orations against Catiline*, suppressed the conspiracy, and was hailed Father of his Country. See Introduction, p. 137. He opposed the *Agrarian Law*, and defended *L. Murena*, the consul-elect. Death of Mithridates.	63
	CICERO AS EX-CONSUL: From the forty-fifth year of his age to his death in his sixty-fourth year; from 62 to 43 B. C.	
45	Cicero delivered his *Oration for the Poet Archias*. See Introduction, p. 214. He also defended *P. Sulla*, charged with complicity in the conspiracy of Catiline.	62
47	Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, formed for mutual support the coalition known as the *first triumvirate*.	60
48	Consulship of Caesar and Bibulus. Cicero defended *L. Flaccus*. Birth of Livy, the historian.	59
49	Caesar went to Gaul with a commission as proconsul for five years. Cicero was driven into exile under a bill proposed by his personal foe, P. Clodius. He went to Macedonia.	58
50	He was recalled from exile in August by a vote of the people.	57
51	He defended *P. Sestius* and *M. Caelius*.	56
52	Cicero wrote his *De Oratore*, in three books.	55

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Year of C.'s age.		B. C.
52	Caesar's command in Gaul was extended for a second period of five years.	55
53	Cicero wrote his *De Republica*, in six books.	54
54	Cicero was elected augur.	53
55	Cicero defended Milo, charged with the murder of P. Clodius, and wrote his *De Legibus*, probably during the year.	52
56	Cicero, Proconsul of Cilicia. He administered the government well, and gained some glory in the field. He was hailed *Imperator*.	51
58	Cicero returned to Rome on the 4th of January, but did not enter the city, as he hoped to receive the honor of a triumph for his victories in Cilicia. Civil war was already imminent. Soon after, Caesar marched upon Rome, and the senatorial party, panic-stricken, fled from the city. At first, Cicero attempted to remain neutral, but at length, in June, he joined Pompey in Greece.	49
	Caesar was made Dictator.	
59	August 9th, Caesar defeated Pompey in the memorable battle of Pharsalia. Soon after this, Cicero, who had not been present in the battle, returned to Italy. Pompey fled to Egypt, where he was put to death.	48
	Caesar engaged in the Alexandrine War.	
60	Caesar having brought the Alexandrine War to a close, returned to Italy, pardoned Cicero at Brundisium, and allowed him to return to Rome.	47
61	Caesar gained the victory of Thapsus, in Africa, April 6th.	46
	Cicero wrote his *Brutus* and his *Orator*. He also delivered his *Oration for Marcellus*, and his *Oration for Ligarius*. See Introductions, pp. 262 and 271.	

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Year of C.'s age.		B. C.
62	Caesar was made consul for ten years, dictator and censor for life. Cicero delivered his *Oration for King Deiotarus.* See Introduction, p. 282. He also completed several works, as *De Finibus*, *De Consolatione*, *Academicae Quaestiones*, and probably the *Tusculan Disputations.*	45
63	Caesar was assassinated on the 15th of March. Cicero wrote several works, as *De Natura Deorum*, *De Officiis*, *De Divinatione*, *De Senectute*, *De Amicitia.* He delivered his *First Philippic* against Antony on the 2d of September. See Introduction, p. 291. He also wrote the *Second Philippic* (never delivered), and delivered the *Third* and *Fourth.*	44
64	Cicero delivered the ten remaining *Philippics.* Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian, formed the *second triumvirate.* A general proscription followed, and, on the 7th of December, Cicero was put to death by order of Antony.	43

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M. TULLII CICERONIS

IN

L. CATILINAM

ORATIO PRIMA,

HABITA IN SENATU.

I. QUOUSQUE tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? Quam diu etiam furor iste tuus eludet? Quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia? Nihilne te nocturnum praesidium Palatii, nihil urbis vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum ora vultusque moverunt? Patere tua consilia non sentis? Constrictam omnium horum scientia teneri conjurationem tuam non vides? Quid proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consilii ceperis, quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris?

O tempora! O mores! Senatus haec intelligit, consul videt: hic tamen vivit. Vivit? Immo vero etiam in senatum venit, fit publici consilii particeps, notat et designat oculis ad caedem unum quemque nostrum. Nos autem, viri fortes, satis facere rei publicae videmur, si istius furorem ac tela vitemus.

Ad mortem te, Catilina, duci jussu consulis jam pridem oportebat, in te conferri pestem istam, quam tu in nos machinaris. An vero vir amplissimus, P. Scipio, pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum, mediocriter labefactantem statum

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rei publicae, privatus interfecit; Catilinam, orbem terrae caede atque incendiis vastare cupientem, nos consules perferemus? Nam illa nimis antiqua praetereo, quod C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium, novis rebus studentem, manu sua occidit. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac re publica virtus, ut viri fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum quam acerbissimum hostem coërcerent. Habemus senatus consultum in te, Catilina, vehemens et grave; non deest rei publicae consilium neque auctoritas hujus ordinis: nos, nos, dico aperte, consules desumus.

II. Decrevit quondam senatus, ut L. Opimius consul videret ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet: nox nulla intercessit; interfectus est propter quasdam seditionum suspiciones C. Gracchus, clarissimo patre, avo, majoribus; occisus est cum liberis M. Fulvius consularis. Simili senatus consulto C. Mario et L. Valerio consulibus est permissa res publica. Num unum diem postea L. Saturninum tribunum plebis et C. Servilium praetorem mors ac rei publicae poena remorata est? At vero nos vicesimum jam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis. Habemus enim hujus modi senatus consultum, verum inclusum in tabulis, tamquam in vagina reconditum, quo ex senatus consulto confestim interfectum te esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis, et vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam. Cupio, patres conscripti, me esse clementem, cupio in tantis rei publicae periculis me non dissolutum videri, sed jam me ipse inertiae nequitiaeque condemno.

Castra sunt in Italia contra populum Romanum in Etruriae faucibus collocata, crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus; eorum autem castrorum imperatorem ducemque hostium intra moenia atque adeo in senatu videmus intestinam aliquam quotidie perniciem rei publicae molientem. Si te jam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici jussero, credo, erit verendum mihi, ne non potius hoc omnes boni serius a me quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat. Verum ego hoc, quod jam pridem factum esse oportuit, certa de

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causa nondum adducor ut faciam. Tum denique interficiere, quum jam nemo tam improbus, tam perditus, tam tui similis inveniri poterit, qui id non jure factum esse fateatur. Quam diu quisquam erit qui te defendere audeat, vives, sed vives ita, ut vivis, multis meis et firmis praesidiis oppressus, ne commovere te contra rem publicam possis. Multorum te etiam oculi et aures non sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, speculabuntur atque custodient.

III. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod jam amplius exspectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare coeptus nefarios neque privata domus parietibus continere voces conjurationis tuae potest? si illustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta jam istam mentem, mihi crede: obliviscere caedis atque incendiorum. Teneris undique; luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia, quae jam mecum licet recognoscas. Meministine me ante diem XII. Kalendas Novembres dicere in senatu, fore in armis certo die, qui dies futurus esset ante diem VI. Kalendas Novembres, C. Manlium, audaciae satellitem atque administrum tuae? Num me fefellit, Catilina, non modo res tanta, tam atrox tamque incredibilis, verum, id quod multo magis est admirandum, dies? Dixi ego idem in senatu, caedem te optimatium contulisse in ante diem V. Kalendas Novembres, tum quum multi principes civitatis Roma non tam sui conservandi quam tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum causa profugerunt. Num infitiari potes te illo die meis praesidiis, mea diligentia circumclusum commovere te contra rem publicam non potuisse, quum te discessu ceterorum nostra tamen, qui remansissemus, caede contentum esse dicebas?

Quid? quum tu te Praeneste Kalendis ipsis Novembribus occupaturum nocturno impetu esse confideres, sensistine illam coloniam meo jussu meis praesidiis, custodiis vigiliisque esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod non ego non modo audiam, sed etiam videam planeque sentiam.

IV. Recognosce mecum tandem noctem illam superi-

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orem: jam intelliges multo me vigilare acrius ad salutem quam te ad perniciem rei publicae. Dico te priore nocte venisse inter falcarios—non agam obscure—in M. Laecae domum; convenisse eodem complures ejusdem amentiae scelerisque socios. Num negare audes? Quid taces? Convincam, si negas; video enim esse hic in senatu quosdam, qui tecum una fuerunt.

O dii immortales! ubinam gentium sumus? quam rem publicam habemus? in qua urbe vivimus? Hic, hic sunt in nostro numero, patres conscripti, in hoc orbis terrae sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de nostro omnium interitu, qui de hujus urbis atque adeo de orbis terrarum exitio cogitent. Hosce ego video et de re publica sententiam rogo, et quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos nondum voce vulnero. Fuisti igitur apud Laecam illa nocte, Catilina; distribuisti partes Italiae; statuisti quo quemque proficisci placeret; delegisti quos Romae relinqueres, quos tecum educeres; discripsisti urbis partes ad incendia; confirmasti te ipsum jam esse exiturum; dixisti paululum tibi esse etiam nunc morae, quod ego viverem. Reperti sunt duo equites Romani, qui te ista cura liberarent et sese illa ipsa nocte paulo ante lucem me in meo lectulo interfecturos esse pollicerentur. Haec ego omnia, vixdum etiam coetu vestro dimisso, comperi; domum meam majoribus praesidiis munivi atque firmavi; exclusi eos, quos tu ad me salutatum mane miseras, quum illi ipsi venissent, quos ego jam multis ac summis viris ad me id temporis venturos praedixeram.

V. Quae quum ita sint, Catilina, perge quo coepisti; egredere aliquando ex urbe; patent portae: proficiscere. Nimium diu te imperatorem tua illa Manliana castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos; si minus, quam plurimos; purga urbem. Magno me metu liberabis, dum modo inter me atque te murus intersit. Nobiscum versari jam diutius non potes: non feram, non patiar, non sinam. Magna diis immortalibus habenda est atque huic ipsi Jovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi hujus urbis, gratia, quod hanc

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tam taetram, tam horribilem tamque infestam rei publicae pestem toties jam effugimus. Non est saepius in uno homine summa salus periclitanda rei publicae. Quam diu mihi, consuli designato, Catilina, insidiatus es, non publico me praesidio, sed privata diligentia defendi. Quum proximis comitiis consularibus me consulem in campo et competitores tuos interficere voluisti, compressi conatus tuos nefarios amicorum praesidio et copiis, nullo tumultu publice concitato; denique, quotiescumque me petisti, per me tibi obstiti, quamquam videbam perniciem meam cum magna calamitate rei publicae esse conjunctam. Nunc jam aperte rem publicam universam petis; templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam denique totam ad exitium ac vastitatem vocas.

Quare quoniam id, quod est primum et quod hujus imperii disciplinaeque majorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo, faciam id, quod est ad severitatem lenius et ad communem salutem utilius. Nam si te interfici jussero, residebit in re publica reliqua conjuratorum manus: sin tu, quod te jam dudum hortor, exieris, exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum comitum magna et perniciosa sentina rei publicae. Quid est, Catilina? Num dubitas id imperante me facere, quod jam tua sponte faciebas? Exire ex urbe jubet consul hostem. Interrogas me: num in exsilium? Non jubeo, sed, si me consulis, suadeo.

VI. Quid est enim, Catilina, quod te jam in hac urbe delectare possit, in qua nemo est extra istam conjurationem perditorum hominum qui te non metuat, nemo qui non oderit? Quae nota domesticae turpitudinis non inusta vitae tuae est? Quod privatarum rerum dedecus non haeret in fama? Quae libido ab oculis, quod facinus a manibus unquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corpore abfuit? Cui tu adolescentulo, quem corruptelarum illecebris irretisses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum aut ad libidinem facem praetulisti? Quid vero? Nuper, quum morte superioris uxoris novis nuptiis domum vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alio

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incredibili scelere hoc scelus cumulasti? Quod ego praetermitto et facile patior sileri, ne in hac civitate tanti facinoris immanitas aut exstitisse aut non vindicata esse videatur. Praetermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnes impendere tibi proximis Idibus senties: ad illa venio, quae non ad privatam ignominiam vitiorum tuorum, non ad domesticam tuam difficultatem ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam rem publicam atque ad omnium nostrum vitam salutemque pertinent.

Potestne tibi haec lux, Catilina, aut hujus caeli spiritus esse jucundus, quum scias esse horum neminem qui nesciat, te pridie Kalendas Januarias Lepido et Tullo consulibus stetisse in comitio cum telo? manum consulum et principum civitatis interficiendorum causa paravisse? sceleri ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam aut timorem tuum, sed fortunam populi Romani obstitisse? Ac jam illa omitto— neque enim sunt aut obscura aut non multa commissa postea — quoties tu me designatum, quoties consulem interficere voluisti! Quot ego tuas petitiones ita conjectas, ut vitari posse non viderentur, parva quadam declinatione et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi! Nihil assequeris, neque tamen conari ac velle desistis. Quoties tibi jam extorta est sica ista de manibus! quoties excidit aliquo casu et elapsa est! Quae quidem quibus abs te initiata sacris ac devota sit, nescio, quod eam necesse putas esse in consulis corpore defigere.

VII. Nunc vero quae tua est ista vita? Sic enim jam tecum loquar, non ut odio permotus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut misericordia, quae tibi nulla debetur. Venisti paulo ante in senatum. Quis te ex hac tanta frequentia, tot ex tuis amicis ac necessariis salutavit? Si hoc post hominum memoriam contigit nemini, vocis exspectas contumeliam, quum sis gravissimo judicio taciturnitatis oppressus? Quid, quod adventu tuo ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt? Quod omnes consulares, qui tibi persaepe ad caedem constituti fuerunt, simul atque assedisti, partem istam subselliorum

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nudam atque inanem reliquerunt, quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas? Servi mehercule mei si me isto pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem; tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? et, si me meis civibus injuria suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem, carere me aspectu civium quam infestis oculis omnium conspici mallem: tu, quum conscientia scelerum tuorum agnoscas odium omnium justum et jam diu tibi debitum, dubitas, quorum mentes sensusque vulneras, eorum aspectum praesentiamque vitare? Si te parentes timerent atque odissent tui nec eos ulla ratione placare posses, ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquo concederes: nunc te patria, quae communis est parens omnium nostrum, odit ac metuit et jam diu nihil te judicat nisi de parricidio suo cogitare: hujus tu neque auctoritatem verebere nec judicium sequere nec vim pertimesces? Quae tecum, Catilina, sic agit et quodam modo tacita loquitur: "Nullum jam aliquot annis facinus exstitit nisi per te, nullum flagitium sine te; tibi uni multorum civium neces, tibi vexatio direptioque sociorum impunita fuit ac libera; tu non solum ad negligendas leges et quaestiones, verum etiam ad evertendas perfringendasque valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli: nunc vero me totam esse in metu propter unum te, quidquid increpuerit Catilinam timeri, nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse, quod a tuo scelere abhorreat, non est ferendum. Quam ob rem discede atque hunc mihi timorem eripe; si est verus, ne opprimar; sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timere desinam."

VIII. Haec si tecum, ut dixi, patria loquatur, nonne impetrare debeat, etiam si vim adhibere non possit? Quid, quod tu te ipse in custodiam dedisti? quod vitandae suspicionis causa ad M'. Lepidum te habitare velle dixisti? A quo non receptus etiam ad me venire ausus es atque ut domi meae te asservarem rogasti. Quum a me quoque id responsum tulisses, me nullo modo posse iisdem parietibus

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tuto esse tecum, qui magno in periculo essem, quod iisdem moenibus contineremur, ad Q. Metellum praetorem venisti. A quo repudiatus ad sodalem tuum, virum optimum, M. Metellum demigrasti, quem tu videlicet et ad custodiendum diligentissimum et ad suspicandum sagacissimum et ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putasti. Sed quam longe videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui se ipse jam dignum custodia judicarit?

Quae quum ita sint, Catilina, dubitas, si emori aequo animo non potes, abire in aliquas terras et vitam istam, multis suppliciis justis debitisque ereptam, fugae solitudinique mandare? "Refer" inquis "ad senatum;" id enim postulas, et, si hic ordo sibi placere decreverit te ire in exsilium, obtemperaturum te esse dicis. Non referam, id quod abhorret a meis moribus, et tamen faciam ut intelligas, quid hi de te sentiant. Egredere ex urbe, Catilina, libera rem publicam metu, in exsilium, si hanc vocem exspectas, proficiscere. Quid est, Catilina? Ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? Patiuntur, tacent. Quid exspectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicis?

At si hoc idem huic adolescenti optimo, P. Sestio, si fortissimo viro M. Marcello dixissem, jam mihi consuli hoc ipso in templo jure optimo senatus vim et manus intulisset. De te autem, Catilina, quum quiescunt, probant, quum patiuntur, decernunt, quum tacent, clamant; neque hi solum, quorum tibi auctoritas est videlicet cara, vita vilissima, sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi viri, ceterique fortissimi cives, qui stant circum senatum, quorum tu et frequentiam videre et studia perspicere et voces paulo ante exaudire potuisti. Quorum ego vix abs te jam diu manus ac tela contineo, eosdem facile adducam ut te haec, quae jam pridem vastare studes, relinquentem usque ad portas prosequantur.

IX. Quamquam quid loquor? Te ut ulla res frangat? tu ut unquam te corrigas? tu ut ullam fugam meditere? tu

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ut exsilium cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem dii immortales duint! etsi video, si mea voce perterritus ire in exsilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidiae nobis, si minus in praesens tempus, recenti memoria scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendeat. Sed est tanti, dum modo ista sit privata calamitas et a rei publicae periculis sejungatur. Sed tu ut vitiis tuis commoveare, ut legum poenas pertimescas, ut temporibus rei publicae cedas, non est postulandum. Neque enim is es, Catilina, ut te aut pudor unquam a turpitudine aut metus a periculo aut ratio a furore revocaverit. Quam ob rem, ut saepe jam dixi, proficiscere, ac, si mihi inimico, ut praedicas, tuo conflare vis invidiam, recta perge in exsilium: vix feram sermones hominum, si id feceris, vix molem istius invidiae, si in exsilium jussu consulis ieris, sustinebo. Sin autem servire meae laudi et gloriae mavis, egredere cum importuna sceleratorum manu; confer te ad Manlium; concita perditos cives; secerne te a bonis; infer patriae bellum; exsulta impio latrocinio, ut a me non ejectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos esse videaris.

Quamquam quid ego te invitem, a quo jam sciam esse praemissos, qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium praestolarentur armati? cui sciam pactam et constitutam cum Manlio diem? a quo etiam aquilam illam argenteam, quam tibi ac tuis omnibus perniciosam esse confido ac funestam futuram, cui domi tuae sacrarium scelerum tuorum constitutum fuit, sciam esse praemissam? Tu ut illa diutius carere possis, quam venerari ad caedem proficiscens solebas, a cujus altaribus saepe istam impiam dexteram ad necem civium transtulisti?

X. Ibis tandem aliquando, quo te jam pridem ista tua cupiditas effrenata ac furiosa rapiebat. Neque enim tibi haec res affert dolorem, sed quandam incredibilem voluptatem. Ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit, voluntas exercuit, fortuna servavit. Nunquam tu non modo otium, sed ne bellum quidem nisi nefarium concupisti. Nactus es

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ex perditis atque ab omni non modo fortuna, verum etiam spe derelictis conflatam improborum manum.

Hic tu qua laetitia perfruere! quibus gaudiis exsultabis! quanta in voluptate bacchabere, quum in tanto numero tuorum neque audies virum bonum quemquam neque videbis! Ad hujus vitae studium meditati illi sunt qui feruntur labores tui, jacere humi non solum ad obsidendum stuprum, verum etiam ad facinus obeundum, vigilare non solum insidiantem somno maritorum, verum etiam bonis otiosorum. Habes, ubi ostentes illam tuam praeclaram patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiae rerum omnium, quibus te brevi tempore confectum senties. Tantum profeci tum, quum te a consulatu reppuli, ut exsul potius tentare quam consul vexare rem publicam posses, atque ut id, quod est abs te scelerate susceptum, latrocinium potius quam bellum nominaretur.

XI. Nunc ut a me, patres conscripti, quandam prope justam patriae querimoniam detester ac deprecer, percipite, quaeso, diligenter quae dicam, et ea penitus animis vestris mentibusque mandate. Etenim si mecum patria, quae mihi vita mea multo est carior, si cuncta Italia, si omnis res publica sic loquatur: "M. Tulli, quid agis? Tune eum, quem esse hostem comperisti, quem ducem belli futurum vides, quem exspectari imperatorem in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, principem conjurationis, evocatorem servorum et civium perditorum, exire patiere, ut abs te non emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur? Nonne hunc in vincula duci, non ad mortem rapi, non summo supplicio mactari imperabis? Quid tandem te impedit? Mosne majorum? At persaepe etiam privati in hac re publica perniciosos cives morte multarunt. An leges, quae de civium Romanorum supplicio rogatae sunt? At nunquam in hac urbe, qui a re publica defecerunt, civium jura tenuerunt. An invidiam posteritatis times? Praeclaram vero populo Romano refers gratiam, qui te, hominem per te cognitum, nulla commendatione majorum tam mature ad

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summum imperium per omnes honorum gradus extulit, si propter invidiam aut alicujus periculi metum salutem civium tuorum negligis. Sed si quis est invidiae metus, num est vehementius severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia quam inertiae ac nequitiae pertimescenda? An quum bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt, tum te non existimas invidiae incendio conflagraturum?"

XII. His ego sanctissimis rei publicae vocibus et eorum hominum, qui hoc idem sentiunt, mentibus pauca respondebo. Ego, si hoc optimum factu judicarem, patres conscripti, Catilinam morte multari, unius usuram horae gladiatori isti ad vivendum non dedissem. Etenim si summi viri et clarissimi cives Saturnini et Gracchorum et Flacci et superiorum complurium sanguine non modo se non contaminarunt, sed etiam honestarunt, certe verendum mihi non erat, ne quid hoc parricida civium interfecto invidiae mihi in posteritatem redundaret. Quod si ea mihi maxime impenderet, tamen hoc animo semper fui, ut invidiam virtute partam gloriam, non invidiam putarem.

Quamquam nonnulli sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea quae imminent non videant, aut ea quae vident dissimulent: qui spem Catilinae mollibus sententiis aluerunt conjurationemque nascentem non credendo corroboraverunt; quorum auctoritatem secuti multi, non solum improbi, verum etiam imperiti, si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et regie factum esse dicerent. Nunc intelligo, si iste, quo intendit, in Manliana castra pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore qui non videat conjurationem esse factam, neminem tam improbum qui non fateatur. Hoc autem uno interfecto, intelligo hanc rei publicae pestem paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse. Quod si se ejecerit secumque suos eduxerit et eodem ceteros undique collectos naufragos aggregaverit, exstinguetur atque delebitur non modo haec tam adulta rei publicae pestis, verum etiam stirps ac semen malorum omnium.

XIII. Etenim jam diu, patres conscripti, in his periculis

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conjurationis insidiisque versamur, sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciae maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit. Quod si ex tanto latrocinio iste unus tolletur, videbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus cura et metu esse relevati, periculum autem residebit et erit inclusum penitus in venis atque in visceribus rei publicae. Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi, quum aestu febrique jactantur, si aquam gelidam biberunt, primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehementiusque afflictantur, sic hic morbus, qui est in re publica, relevatus istius poena, vehementius vivis reliquis ingravescet.

Quare secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis, unum in locum congregentur, muro denique, id quod saepe jam dixi, discernantur a nobis; desinant insidiari domi suae consuli, circumstare tribunal praetoris urbani, obsidere cum gladiis curiam, malleolos et faces ad inflammandam urbem comparare: sit denique inscriptum in fronte unius cujusque, quid de re publica sentiat. Polliceor vobis hoc, patres conscripti, tantam in nobis consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctoritatem, tantam in equitibus Romanis virtutem, tantam in omnibus bonis consensionem, ut Catilinae profectione omnia patefacta, illustrata, oppressa, vindicata esse videatis.

Hisce ominibus, Catilina, cum summa rei publicae salute, cum tua peste ac pernicie cumque eorum exitio, qui se tecum omni scelere parricidioque junxerunt, proficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium. Tum tu, Juppiter, qui iisdem quibus haec urbs auspiciis a Romulo es constitutus, quem Statorem hujus urbis atque imperii vere nominamus, hunc et hujus socios a tuis aris ceterisque templis, a tectis urbis ac moenibus, a vita fortunisque civium arcebis, et homines bonorum inimicos, hostes patriae, latrones Italiae, scelerum foedere inter se ac nefaria societate conjunctos, aeternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis.

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M. TULLII CICERONIS

IN

L. CATILINAM

ORATIO SECUNDA,

AD QUIRITES.

I. TANDEM aliquando, Quirites, L. Catilinam, furentem audacia, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefarie molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferro flammaque minitantem, ex urbe vel ejecimus vel emisimus vel ipsum egredientem verbis prosecuti sumus. Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit. Nulla jam pernicies a monstro illo atque prodigio moenibus ipsis intra moenia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum hujus belli domestici ducem sine controversia vicimus. Non enim jam inter latera nostra sica illa versabitur; non in campo, non in foro, non in curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes pertimescemus. Loco ille motus est, quum ex urbe est expulsus. Palam jam cum hoste nullo impediente bellum geremus. Sine dubio perdidimus hominem magnificeque vicimus, quum illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium conjecimus. Quod vero non cruentum mucronem, ut voluit, extulit, quod vivis nobis egressus est, quod ei ferrum e manibus extorsimus, quod incolumes cives, quod stantem urbem reliquit, quanto tandem illum maerore esse afflictum et profligatum putatis? Jacet ille nunc prostratusque est, et se perculsum atque abjectum esse sentit, et retorquet oculos profecto saepe ad

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hanc urbem, quam e suis faucibus ereptam esse luget: quae quidem laetari mihi videtur, quod tantam pestem evomuerit forasque projecerit.

II. Ac si quis est talis, quales omnes esse oportebat, qui in hoc ipso, in quo exsultat et triumphat oratio mea, me vehementer accuset, quod tam capitalem hostem non comprehenderim potius quam emiserim, non est ista mea culpa, sed temporum. Interfectum esse L. Catilinam et gravissimo supplicio affectum jam pridem oportebat, idque a me et mos majorum et hujus imperii severitas et res publica postulabat. Sed quam multos fuisse putatis, qui quae ego deferrem non crederent, quam multos, qui etiam defenderent? Ac si illo sublato depelli a vobis omne periculum judicarem, jam pridem ego L. Catilinam non modo invidiae meae, verum etiam vitae periculo sustulissem. Sed quum viderem, ne vobis quidem omnibus re etiam tum probata, si illum, ut erat meritus, morte multassem, fore ut ejus socios invidia oppressus persequi non possem, rem huc deduxi, ut tum palam pugnare possetis, quum hostem aperte videretis.

Quem quidem ego hostem, Quirites, quam vehementer foris esse timendum putem, licet hinc intelligatis, quod etiam moleste fero, quod ex urbe parum comitatus exierit. Utinam ille omnes secum copias suas eduxisset! Tongilium mihi eduxit, quem amare in praetexta coeperat, Publicium et Munatium, quorum aes alienum contractum in popina nullum rei publicae motum afferre poterat: reliquit quos viros! quanto aere alieno, quam valentes, quam nobiles!

III. Itaque ego illum exercitum prae Gallicanis legionibus et hoc delectu, quem in agro Piceno et Gallico Q. Metellus habuit, et his copiis, quae a nobis quotidie comparantur, magno opere contemno, collectum ex senibus desperatis, ex agresti luxuria, ex rusticis decoctoribus, ex iis, qui vadimonia deserere quam illum exercitum maluerunt: quibus ego non modo si aciem exercitus nostri, verum etiam

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si edictum praetoris ostendero, concident. Hos, quos video volitare in foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in senatum venire, qui nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpura, mallem secum suos milites eduxisset: qui si hic permanent, mementote non tam exercitum illum esse nobis quam hos, qui exercitum deseruerunt, pertimescendos. Atque hoc etiam sunt timendi magis, quod quid cogitent me scire sentiunt, neque tamen permoventur. Video, cui sit Apulia attributa, quis habeat Etruriam, quis agrum Picenum, quis Gallicum, quis sibi has urbanas insidias caedis atque incendiorum depoposcerit. Omnia superioris noctis consilia ad me delata esse sentiunt; patefeci in senatu hesterno die; Catilina ipse pertimuit, profugit. Hi quid exspectant? Ne illi vehementer errant, si illam meam pristinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram.

IV. Quod exspectavi, jam sum assecutus, ut vos omnes factam esse aperte conjurationem contra rem publicam videretis: nisi vero si quis est, qui Catilinae similes cum Catilina sentire non putet. Non est jam lenitati locus; severitatem res ipsa flagitat. Unum etiam nunc concedam: exeant, proficiscantur, ne patiantur desiderio sui Catilinam miserum tabescere. Demonstrabo iter: Aurelia via profectus est; si accelerare volent, ad vesperam consequentur. O fortunatam rem publicam, si quidem hanc sentinam urbis ejecerit! Uno mehercule Catilina exhausto, relevata mihi et recreata res publica videtur. Quid enim mali aut sceleris fingi aut cogitari potest, quod non ille conceperit? Quis tota Italia veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamentorum subjector, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo, quis nepos, quis adulter, quae mulier infamis, quis corruptor juventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur? Quae caedes per hosce annos sine illo facta est, quod nefarium stuprum non per illum? Jam vero quae tanta unquam in ullo homine juventutis illecebra fuit, quanta in illo? qui alios amabat ipse tur-

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pissime, aliorum amori flagitiosissime serviebat, aliis fructum libidinum, aliis mortem parentum non modo impellendo, verum etiam adjuvando pollicebatur. Nunc vero quam subito non solum ex urbe, verum etiam ex agris ingentem numerum perditorum hominum collegerat! Nemo non modo Romae, sed ne ullo quidem in angulo totius Italiae oppressus aere alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris foedus adsciverit.

V. Atque ut ejus diversa studia in dissimili ratione perspicere possitis, nemo est in ludo gladiatorio paulo ad facinus audacior, qui se non intimum Catilinae, nemo in scaena levior et nequior, qui se non ejusdem prope sodalem fuisse commemoret. Atque idem tamen, stuprorum et scelerum exercitatione assuefactus frigore et fame ac siti et vigiliis perferendis, fortis ab istis praedicabatur, quum industriae subsidia atque instrumenta virtutis in libidine audaciaque consumerentur.

Hunc vero si secuti erunt sui comites, si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagitiosi greges, o nos beatos, o rem publicam fortunatam, o praeclaram laudem consulatus mei! Non enim jam sunt mediocres hominum libidines, non humanae ac tolerandae audaciae; nihil cogitant nisi caedes, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas. Patrimonia sua profuderunt, fortunas suas obligaverunt, res eos jam pridem, fides nuper deficere coepit: eadem tamen illa, quae erat in abundantia, libido manet. Quod si in vino et alea comissationes solum et scorta quaererent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi. Hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertes homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, ebriosos sobriis, dormientes vigilantibus? qui accubantes in conviviis, complexi mulieres impudicas, vino languidi, conferti cibo, sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti, debilitati stupris, eructant sermonibus suis caedem bonorum atque urbis incendia.

Quibus ego confido impendere fatum aliquod, et poenam jam diu improbitati, nequitiae, sceleri, libidini debitam aut

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instare jam plane aut certe appropinquare. Quos si meus consulatus, quoniam sanare non potest, sustulerit, non breve nescio quod tempus, sed multa saecula propagarit rei publicae. Nulla est enim natio, quam pertimescamus, nullus rex, qui bellum populo Romano facere possit; omnia sunt externa unius virtute terra marique pacata: domesticum bellum manet, intus insidiae sunt, intus inclusum periculum est, intus est hostis: cum luxuria nobis, cum amentia, cum scelere certandum est. Huic ego me bello ducem profiteor, Quirites; suscipio inimicitias hominum perditorum. Quae sanari poterunt, quacumque ratione sanabo; quae resecanda erunt, non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manere. Proinde aut exeant aut quiescant aut, si et in urbe et in eadem mente permanent, ea quae merentur exspectent.

VI. At etiam sunt qui dicant, Quirites, a me in exsilium ejectum esse Catilinam. Quod ego si verbo assequi possem, istos ipsos ejicerem, qui haec loquuntur. Homo enim videlicet timidus aut etiam permodestus vocem consulis ferre non potuit; simul atque ire in exsilium jussus est, paruit atque ivit.

Hesterno die, quum domi meae paene interfectus essem, senatum in aedem Jovis Statoris vocavi, rem omnem ad patres conscriptos detuli: quo quum Catilina venisset, quis eum senator appellavit? quis salutavit? quis denique ita aspexit ut perditum civem, ac non potius ut importunissimum hostem? Quin etiam principes ejus ordinis partem illam subselliorum, ad quam ille accesserat, nudam atque inanem reliquerunt. Hic ego vehemens ille consul, qui verbo cives in exsilium ejicio, quaesivi a Catilina, in nocturno conventu apud M. Laecam fuisset necne. Quum ille, homo audacissimus, conscientia convictus primo reticuisset, patefeci cetera: quid ea nocte egisset, quid in proximam constituisset, quem ad modum esset ei ratio totius belli descripta, edocui. Quum haesitaret, quum teneretur, quaesivi, quid dubitaret proficisci eo, quo jam pridem pararet, quum arma, quum secures, quum fasces, quum tubas, quum signa

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militaria, quum aquilam illam argenteam, cui ille etiam sacrarium domi suae fecerat, scirem esse praemissam. In exsilium ejiciebam, quem jam ingressum esse in bellum videbam? Etenim, credo, Manlius iste centurio, qui in agro Faesulano castra posuit, bellum populo Romano suo nomine indixit, et illa castra nunc non Catilinam ducem exspectant, et ille ejectus in exsilium se Massiliam, ut aiunt, non in haec castra conferet.

VII. O condicionem miseram non modo administrandae, verum etiam conservandae rei publicae! Nunc si L. Catilina consiliis, laboribus, periculis meis circumclusus ac debilitatus subito pertimuerit, sententiam mutaverit, deseruerit suos, consilium belli faciendi abjecerit, ex hoc cursu sceleris et belli iter ad fugam atque in exsilium convertet, non ille a me spoliatus armis audaciae, non obstupefactus ac perterritus mea diligentia, non de spe conatuque depulsus, sed indemnatus innocens in exsilium ejectus a consule vi et minis dicetur; et erunt qui illum, si hoc fecerit, non improbum, sed miserum, me non diligentissimum consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum existimari velint. Est mihi tanti, Quirites, hujus invidiae falsae atque iniquae tempestatem subire, dum modo a vobis hujus horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. Dicatur sane ejectus esse a me, dum modo eat in exsilium: sed, mihi credite, non est iturus. Nunquam ego a diis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, invidiae meae levandae causa, ut L. Catilinam ducere exercitum hostium atque in armis volitare audiatis, sed triduo tamen audietis; multoque magis illud timeo, ne mihi sit invidiosum aliquando, quod illum emiserim potius quam quod ejecerim. Sed quum sint homines, qui illum, quum profectus sit, ejectum esse dicant, iidem, si interfectus esset, quid dicerent?

Quamquam isti, qui Catilinam Massiliam ire dictitant, non tam hoc queruntur quam verentur. Nemo est istorum tam misericors, qui illum non ad Manlium quam ad Massilienses ire malit. Ille autem, si mehercule hoc quod agit

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nunquam antea cogitasset, tamen latrocinantem se interfici mallet quam exsulem vivere. Nunc vero, quum ei nihil adhuc praeter ipsius voluntatem cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quod vivis nobis Roma profectus est, optemus potius ut eat in exsilium quam queramur.

VIII. Sed cur tam diu de uno hoste loquimur, et de eo hoste, qui jam fatetur se esse hostem, et quem, quia, quod semper volui, murus interest, non timeo: de his, qui dissimulant, qui Romae remanent, qui nobiscum sunt, nihil dicimus? Quos quidem ego, si ullo modo fieri possit, non tam ulcisci studeo quam sanare sibi ipsos, placare rei publicae; neque id quare fieri non possit, si me audire volent, intelligo. Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum istae copiae comparentur; deinde singulis medicinam consilii atque orationis meae, si quam potero, afferam.

Unum genus est eorum, qui magno in aere alieno majores etiam possessiones habent, quarum amore adducti dissolvi nullo modo possunt. Horum hominum species est honestissima — sunt enim locupletes — voluntas vero et causa impudentissima. Tu agris, tu aedificiis, tu argento, tu familia, tu rebus omnibus ornatus et copiosus sis, et dubites de possessione detrahere, acquirere ad fidem? Quid enim exspectas? Bellum? Quid ergo, in vastatione omnium tuas possessiones sacrosanctas futuras putas? An tabulas novas? Errant qui istas a Catilina exspectant: meo beneficio tabulae novae proferentur, verum auctionariae; neque enim isti, qui possessiones habent, alia ratione ulla salvi esse possunt. Quod si maturius facere voluissent neque, id quod stultissimum est, certare cum usuris fructibus praediorum, et locupletioribus his et melioribus civibus uteremur. Sed hosce homines minime puto pertimescendos, quod aut deduci de sententia possunt aut, si permanebunt, magis mihi videntur vota facturi contra rem publicam quam arma laturi.

IX. Alterum genus est eorum, qui, quamquam pre-

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muntur aere alieno, dominationem tamen exspectant, rerum potiri volunt, honores, quos quieta re publica desperant, perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur. Quibus hoc praecipiendum videtur, unum scilicet et idem quod reliquis omnibus, ut desperent se id quod conantur consequi posse: primum omnium me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere rei publicae; deinde magnos animos esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam in maxima multitudine, magnas praeterea copias militum; deos denique immortales huic invicto populo, clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimae urbi contra tantam vim sceleris praesentes auxilium esse laturos. Quod si jam sint id, quod summo furore cupiunt, adepti, num illi in cinere urbis et in sanguine civium, quae mente scelerata ac nefaria concupiverunt, se consules aut dictatores aut etiam reges sperant futuros? Non vident id se cupere, quod si adepti sint, fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori concedi sit necesse.

Tertium genus est aetate jam affectum, sed tamen exercitatione robustum, quo ex genere est ipse Manlius, cui nunc Catilina succedit. Sunt homines ex iis coloniis, quas Sulla constituit: quas ego universas civium esse optimorum et fortissimorum virorum sentio, sed tamen ii sunt coloni, qui se in insperatis ac repentinis pecuniis sumptuosius insolentiusque jactarunt. Hi dum aedificant tamquam beati, dum praediis, lecticis, familiis magnis, conviviis apparatis delectantur, in tantum aes alienum inciderunt, ut, si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit iis ab inferis excitandus: qui etiam nonnullos agrestes homines tenues atque egentes in eandem illam spem rapinarum veterum impulerunt. Quos ego, Quirites, in eodem genere praedatorum direptorumque pono, sed eos hoc moneo: desinant furere et proscriptiones et dictaturas cogitare. Tantus enim illorum temporum dolor inustus est civitati, ut jam ista non modo homines, sed ne pecudes quidem mihi passurae esse videantur.

X. Quartum genus est sane varium et mixtum et turbulentum; qui jam pridem premuntur, qui nunquam emergunt; qui partim inertia, partim male gerendo negotio, partim

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etiam sumptibus in vetere aere alieno vacillant; qui vadimoniis, judiciis, proscriptionibus bonorum defatigati, permulti et ex urbe et ex agris se in illa castra conferre dicuntur. Hosce ego non tam milites acres quam infitiatores lentos esse arbitror. Qui homines quam primum, si stare non possunt, corruant, sed ita, ut non modo civitas, sed ne vicini quidem proximi sentiant. Nam illud non intelligo, quam ob rem, si vivere honeste non possunt, perire turpiter velint, aut cur minore dolore perituros se cum multis, quam si soli pereant, arbitrentur.

Quintum genus est parricidarum, sicariorum, denique omnium facinorosorum: quos ego a Catilina non revoco; nam neque divelli ab eo possunt et pereant sane in latrocinio, quoniam sunt ita multi, ut eos carcer capere non possit.

Postremum autem genus est, non solum numero, verum etiam genere ipso atque vita, quod proprium Catilinae est, de ejus delectu, immo vero de complexu ejus ac sinu, quos pexo capillo, nitidos, aut imberbes aut bene barbatos videtis, manicatis et talaribus tunicis, velis amictos, non togis; quorum omnis industria vitae et vigilandi labor in antelucanis cenis expromitur. In his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuri impudicique versantur. Hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati non solum amare et amari, neque cantare et saltare, sed etiam sicas vibrare et spargere venena didicerunt: qui nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiam si Catilina perierit, scitote hoc in re publica seminarium Catilinarum futurum. Verum tamen quid sibi isti miseri volunt? Num suas secum mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi? Quem ad modum autem illis carere poterunt, his praesertim jam noctibus? Quo autem pacto illi Appenninum atque illas pruinas ac nives perferent? nisi idcirco se facilius hiemem toleraturos putant, quod nudi in conviviis saltare didicerunt.

XI. O bellum magno opere pertimescendum, quum hanc sit habiturus Catilina scortorum cohortem praetoriam!

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Instruite nunc, Quirites, contra has tam praeclaras Catilinae copias vestra praesidia vestrosque exercitus: et primum gladiatori illi confecto et saucio consules imperatoresque vestros opponite; deinde contra illam naufragorum ejectam ac debilitatam manum florem totius Italiae ac robur educite. Jam vero urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt Catilinae tumulis silvestribus. Neque ego ceteras copias, ornamenta, praesidia vestra cum illius latronis inopia atque egestate conferre debeo. Sed si, omissis his rebus, quibus nos suppeditamur, eget ille, senatu, equitibus Romanis, urbe, aerario, vectigalibus, cuncta Italia, provinciis omnibus, exteris nationibus; si, his rebus omissis, causas ipsas, quae inter se confligunt, contendere velimus, ex eo ipso, quam valde illi jaceant, intelligere possumus. Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc petulantia; hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum; hinc fides, illinc fraudatio; hinc pietas, illinc scelus; hinc constantia, illinc furor; hinc honestas, illinc turpitudo; hinc continentia, illinc libido; denique aequitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes certant cum iniquitate, luxuria, ignavia, temeritate, cum vitiis omnibus; postremo copia cum egestate, bona ratio cum perdita, mens sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione confligit. In ejus modi certamine ac proelio nonne, etiam si hominum studia deficiant, dii ipsi immortales cogant ab his praeclarissimis virtutibus tot et tanta vitia superari?

XII. Quae quum ita sint, Quirites, vos, quem ad modum jam antea dixi, vestra tecta vigiliis custodiisque defendite: mihi, ut urbi sine vestro motu ac sine ullo tumultu satis esset praesidii, consultum atque provisum est. Coloni omnes municipesque vestri, certiores a me facti de hac nocturna excursione Catilinae, facile urbes suas finesque defendent. Gladiatores, quam sibi ille manum certissimam fore putavit, quamquam animo meliore sunt quam pars patriciorum, potestate tamen nostra continebuntur. Q. Metellus, quem ego hoc prospiciens in agrum Gallicum

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Picenumque praemisi, aut opprimet hominem aut omnes ejus motus conatusque prohibebit. Reliquis autem de rebus constituendis, maturandis, agendis jam ad senatum referemus, quem vocari videtis.

Nunc illos, qui in urbe remanserunt, atque adeo qui contra urbis salutem omniumque nostrum in urbe a Catilina relicti sunt, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen, quia sunt cives, monitos etiam atque etiam volo. Mea lenitas adhuc si cui solutior visa est, hoc exspectavit, ut id quod latebat erumperet. Quod reliquum est, jam non possum oblivisci, meam hanc esse patriam, me horum esse consulem, mihi aut cum his vivendum aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est portis custos, nullus insidiator viae; si qui exire volunt, conivere possum: qui vero se in urbe commoverit, cujus ego non modo factum, sed inceptum ullum conatumve contra patriam deprehendero, sentiet in hac urbe esse consules vigilantes, esse magistratus egregios, esse fortem senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem, quem vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum majores nostri esse voluerunt.

XIII. Atque haec omnia sic agentur, Quirites, ut maximae res minimo motu, pericula summa nullo tumultu, bellum intestinum ac domesticum post hominum memoriam crudelissimum et maximum me uno togato duce et imperatore sedetur. Quod ego sic administrabo, Quirites, ut, si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus quidem quisquam in hac urbe poenam sui sceleris sufferat. Sed si vis manifestae audaciae, si impendens patriae periculum me necessario de hac animi lenitate deduxerit, illud profecto perficiam, quod in tanto et tam insidioso bello vix optandum videtur, ut neque bonus quisquam intereat paucorumque poena vos jam omnes salvi esse possitis.

Quae quidem ego neque mea prudentia neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites, sed multis et non dubiis deorum immortalium significationibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem sententiamque sum ingressus; qui jam

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non procul, ut quondam solebant, ab externo hoste atque longinquo, sed hic praesentes suo numine atque auxilio sua templa atque urbis tecta defendent. Quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari, implorare debetis, ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam florentissimamque esse voluerunt, hanc, omnibus hostium copiis terra marique superatis, a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant.

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M. TULLII CICERONIS

IN

L. CATILINAM

ORATIO TERTIA,

AD QUIRITES.

I. Rem publicam, Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrum, bona, fortunas, conjuges liberosque vestros atque hoc domicilium clarissimi imperii, fortunatissimam pulcherrimamque urbem, hodierno die deorum immortalium summo erga vos amore, laboribus, consiliis, periculis meis e flamma atque ferro ac paene ex faucibus fati ereptam et vobis conservatam ac restitutam videtis. Et, si non minus nobis jucundi atque illustres sunt ii dies, quibus conservamur, quam illi, quibus nascimur, quod salutis certa laetitia est, nascendi incerta condicio, et quod sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate servamur, profecto, quoniam illum, qui hanc urbem condidit, ad deos immortales benevolentia famaque sustulimus, esse apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debebit is, qui eandem hanc urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit. Nam toti urbi, templis, delubris, tectis ac moenibus subjectos prope jam ignes circumdatosque restinximus, iidemque gladios in rem publicam destrictos rettudimus mucronesque eorum a jugulis vestris dejecimus. Quae quoniam in senatu illustrata, patefacta, comperta sunt per me, vobis jam exponam breviter, Quirites, ut et quanta et quam manifesta, et qua ratione investigata et comprehensa sint, vos, qui ignoratis et exspectatis, scire possitis.

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Principio, ut Catilina paucis ante diebus erupit ex urbe, quum sceleris sui socios, hujusce nefarii belli acerrimos duces, Romae reliquisset, semper vigilavi et providi, Quirites, quem ad modum in tantis et tam absconditis insidiis salvi esse possemus.

II. Nam tum, quum ex urbe Catilinam ejiciebam—non enim jam vereor hujus verbi invidiam, quum illa magis sit timenda, quod vivus exierit—sed tum, quum illum exterminari volebam, aut reliquam conjuratorum manum simul exituram aut eos, qui restitissent, infirmos sine illo ac debiles fore putabam. Atque ego, ut vidi, quos maximo furore et scelere esse inflammatos sciebam, eos nobiscum esse et Romae remansisse, in eo omnes dies noctesque consumpsi, ut, quid agerent, quid molirentur, sentirem ac viderem, ut, quoniam auribus vestris propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, rem ita comprehenderem, ut tum demum animis saluti vestrae provideretis, quum oculis maleficium ipsum videretis. Itaque ut comperi legatos Allobrogum belli transalpini et tumultus Gallici excitandi causa a P. Lentulo esse sollicitatos, eosque in Galliam ad suos cives eodemque itinere cum litteris mandatisque ad Catilinam esse missos, comitemque iis adjunctum esse T. Volturcium atque huic ad Catilinam esse datas litteras, facultatem mihi oblatam putavi, ut, quod erat difficillimum quodque ego semper optabam ab diis immortalibus, tota res non solum a me, sed etiam a senatu et a vobis manifesto deprehenderetur.

Itaque hesterno die L. Flaccum et C. Pomptinum praetores, fortissimos atque amantissimos rei publicae viros, ad me vocavi, rem exposui, quid fieri placeret ostendi. Illi autem, qui omnia de re publica praeclara atque egregia sentirent, sine recusatione ac sine ulla mora negotium susceperunt et, quum advesperasceret, occulte ad pontem Mulvium pervenerunt atque ibi in proximis villis ita biparatito fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset. Eodem autem et ipsi sine cujusquam suspicione multos fortes viros

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eduxerant, et ego ex praefectura Reatina complures delectos adolescentes, quorum opera utor assidue in rei publicae praesidio, cum gladiis miseram. Interim tertia fere vigilia exacta, quum jam pontem magno comitatu legati Allobrogum ingredi inciperent unaque Volturcius, fit in eos impetus; educuntur et ab illis gladii et a nostris. Res praetoribus erat nota solis, ignorabatur a ceteris.

III. Tum interventu Pomptini atque Flacci pugna, quae erat commissa, sedatur. Litterae, quaecumque erant in eo comitatu, integris signis praetoribus traduntur; ipsi comprehensi ad me, quum jam dilucesceret, deducuntur. Atque horum omnium scelerum improbissimum machinatorem Cimbrum Gabinium statim ad me, nihildum suspicantem, vocavi; deinde item arcessitus est L. Statilius et post eum C. Cethegus; tardissime autem Lentulus venit, credo quod in litteris dandis praeter consuetudinem proxima nocte vigilarat. Quum summis et clarissimis hujus civitatis viris, qui audita re frequentes ad me mane convenerant, litteras a me prius aperiri quam ad senatum deferri placeret, ne, si nihil esset inventum, temere a me tantus tumultus injectus civitati videretur, negavi me esse facturum ut de periculo publico non ad consilium publicum rem integram deferrem. Etenim, Quirites, si ea, quae erant ad me delata, reperta non essent, tamen ego non arbitrabar in tantis rei publicae periculis esse mihi nimiam diligentiam pertimescendam. Senatum frequentem celeriter, ut vidistis, coëgi. Atque interea statim admonitu Allobrogum C. Sulpicium praetorem, fortem virum, misi, qui ex aedibus Cethegi, si quid telorum esset, efferret, ex quibus ille maximum sicarum numerum et gladiorum extulit.

IV. Introduxi Volturcium sine Gallis; fidem publicam jussu senatus dedi; hortatus sum ut ea quae sciret sine timore indicaret. Tum ille dixit, quum vix se ex magno timore recreasset, a P. Lentulo se habere ad Catilinam mandata et litteras, ut servorum praesidio uteretur, ut ad urbem quam primum cum exercitu accederet; id autem eo

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consilio, ut, quum urbem ex omnibus partibus, quem ad modum descriptum distributumque erat, incendissent caedemque infinitam civium fecissent, praesto esset ille, qui et fugientes exciperet et se cum his urbanis ducibus conjungeret. Introducti autem Galli jus jurandum sibi et litteras ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad suam gentem data esse dixerunt, atque ita sibi ab his et a L. Cassio esse praescriptum, ut equitatum in Italiam quam primum mitterent; pedestres sibi copias non defuturas; Lentulum autem sibi confirmasse ex fatis Sibyllinis haruspicumque responsis, se esse illum tertium Cornelium, ad quem regnum hujus urbis atque imperium pervenire esset necesse; Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisse; eundemque dixisse fatalem hunc esse annum ad interitum hujus urbis atque imperii, qui esset annus decimus post virginum absolutionem, post Capitolii autem incensionem vicesimus. Hanc autem Cethego cum ceteris controversiam fuisse dixerunt, quod Lentulo et aliis Saturnalibus caedem fieri atque urbem incendi placeret, Cethego nimium id longum videretur.

V. Ac ne longum sit, Quirites, tabellas proferri jussimus, quae a quoque dicebantur datae. Primo ostendimus Cethego signum: cognovit. Nos linum incidimus; legimus. Erat scriptum ipsius manu Allobrogum senatui et populo, sese quae eorum legatis confirmasset facturum esse; orare ut item illi facerent quae sibi legati eorum recepissent. Tum Cethegus, qui paulo ante aliquid tamen de gladiis ac sicis, quae apud ipsum erant deprehensa, respondisset dixissetque se semper bonorum ferramentorum studiosum fuisse, recitatis litteris debilitatus atque abjectus conscientia repente conticuit.

Introductus est Statilius; cognovit et signum et manum suam. Recitatae sunt tabellae in eandem fere sententiam; confessus est. Tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo et quaesivi, cognosceretne signum. Annuit. "Est vero," inquam, "notum quidem signum, imago avi tui, clarissimi viri, qui amavit unice patriam et cives suos; quae quidem

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te a tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit." Leguntur eadem ratione ad senatum Allobrogum populumque litterae. Si quid de his rebus dicere vellet, feci potestatem. Atque ille primo quidem negavit; post autem aliquanto, toto jam indicio exposito atque edito, surrexit, quaesivit a Gallis, quid sibi esset cum iis, quam ob rem domum suam venissent, itemque a Volturcio. Qui quum illi breviter constanterque respondissent, per quem ad eum quotiesque venissent, quaesissentque ab eo, nihilne secum esset de fatis Sibyllinis locutus, tum ille subito scelere demens, quanta conscientiae vis esset ostendit: nam quum id posset infitiari, repente praeter opinionem omnium confessus est. Ita eum non modo ingenium illud et dicendi exercitatio, qua semper valuit, sed etiam propter vim manifesti atque deprehensi sceleris impudentia, qua superabat omnes, improbitasque defecit.

Volturcius vero subito litteras proferri atque aperiri jubet, quas sibi a Lentulo ad Catilinam datas esse dicebat. Atque ibi vehementissime perturbatus Lentulus tamen et signum et manum suam cognovit. Erant autem sine nomine, sed ita: "Quis sim, scies ex hoc, quem ad te misi. Cura ut vir sis et cogita quem in locum sis progressus: vide, quid jam tibi sit necesse, et cura ut omnium tibi auxilia adjungas, etiam infimorum." Gabinius deinde introductus, quum primo impudenter respondere coepisset, ad extremum nihil ex iis, quae Galli insimulabant, negavit. Ac mihi quidem, Quirites, quum illa certissima visa sunt argumenta atque indicia sceleris, tabellae, signa, manus, denique unius cujusque confessio, tum multo certiora illa, color, oculi, vultus, taciturnitas. Sic enim obstupuerant, sic terram intuebantur, sic furtim nonnunquam inter se aspiciebant, ut non jam ab aliis indicari, sed indicare se ipsi viderentur.

VI. Indiciis expositis atque editis, Quirites, senatum consului, de summa re publica quid fieri placeret. Dictae sunt a principibus acerrimae ac fortissimae sententiae,

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quas senatus sine ulla varietate est secutus. Et quoniam nondum est perscriptum senatus consultum, ex memoria vobis, Quirites, quid senatus censuerit exponam. Primum mihi gratiae verbis amplissimis aguntur, quod virtute, consilio, providentia mea res publica maximis periculis sit liberata; deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomptinus praetores, quod eorum opera forti fidelique usus essem, merito ac jure laudantur; atque etiam viro forti, collegae meo, laus impertitur, quod eos, qui hujus conjurationis participes fuissent, a suis et rei publicae consiliis removisset. Atque ita censuerunt, ut P. Lentulus, quum se praetura abdicasset, in custodiam traderetur; itemque uti C. Cethegus, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius, qui omnes praesentes erant, in custodiam traderentur; atque idem hoc decretum est in L. Cassium, qui sibi procurationem incendendae urbis depoposcerat; in M. Ceparium, cui ad sollicitandos pastores Apuliam attributam esse erat indicatum; in P. Furium, qui est de iis colonis, quos Faesulas L. Sulla deduxit; in Q. Annium Chilonem, qui una cum hoc Furio semper erat in hac Allobrogum sollicitatione versatus; in P. Umbrenum, libertinum hominem, a quo primum Gallos ad Gabinium perductos esse constabat. Atque ea lenitate senatus usus est, Quirites, ut ex tanta conjuratione tantaque hac multitudine domesticorum hostium novem hominum perditissimorum poena re publica conservata, reliquorum mentes sanari posse arbitraretur.

Atque etiam supplicatio diis immortalibus pro singulari eorum merito meo nomine decreta est, quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam togato contigit, et his verbis decreta est: *quod urbem incendiis, caede cives, Italiam bello liberassem.* Quae supplicatio si cum ceteris supplicationibus conferatur, hoc interest, quod ceterae bene gesta, haec una conservata re publica constituta est. Atque illud, quod faciendum primum fuit, factum atque transactum est. Nam P. Lentulus, quamquam, patefactus indiciis et confessionibus suis, judicio senatus non modo praetoris jus,

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verum etiam civis amiserat, tamen magistratu se abdicavit, ut, quae religio C. Mario, clarissimo viro, non fuerat quo minus C. Glauciam, de quo nihil nominatim erat decretum, praetorem occideret, ea nos religione in privato P. Lentulo puniendo liberaremur.

VII. Nunc quoniam, Quirites, conscelerati ssimi periculosissimique belli nefarios duces captos jam et comprehensos tenetis, existimare debetis, omnes Catilinae copias, omnes spes atque opes, his depulsis urbis periculis, concidisse. Quem quidem ego quum ex urbe pellebam, hoc providebam animo, Quirites, remoto Catilina non mihi esse P. Lentuli somnum nec L. Cassii adipes nec C. Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam. Ille erat unus timendus ex istis omnibus, sed tam diu, dum urbis moenibus continebatur. Omnia norat, omnium aditus tenebat; appellare, tentare, sollicitare poterat, audebat; erat ei consilium ad facinus aptum, consilio autem neque lingua neque manus deerat. Jam ad certas res conficiendas certos homines delectos ac descriptos habebat. Neque vero, quum aliquid mandarat, confectum putabat: nihil erat quod non ipse obiret, occurreret, vigilaret, laboraret: frigus, sitim, famem ferre poterat.

Hunc ego hominem tam acrem, tam audacem, tam paratum, tam callidum, tam in scelere vigilantem, tam in perditis rebus diligentem nisi ex domesticis insidiis in castrense latrocinium compulissem, dicam id quod sentio, Quirites, non facile hanc tantam molem mali a vestris cervicibus depulissem. Non ille nobis Saturnalia constituisset neque tanto ante exitii ac fati diem rei publicae denuntiavisset, neque commisisset ut signum, ut litterae suae testes manifesti sceleris deprehenderentur. Quae nunc illo absente sic gesta sunt, ut nullum in privata domo furtum unquam sit tam palam inventum, quam haec tanta in re publica conjuratio manifesto inventa atque deprehensa est. Quod si Catilina in urbe ad hanc diem remansisset, quamquam, quoad fuit, omnibus ejus consiliis occurri atque obstiti,

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tamen, ut levissime dicam, dimicandum nobis cum illo fuisset, neque nos unquam, dum ille in urbe hostis esset, tantis periculis rem publicam tanta pace, tanto otio, tanto silentio liberassemus.

VIII. Quamquam haec omnia, Quirites, ita sunt a me administrata, ut deorum immortalium nutu atque consilio et gesta et provisa esse videantur; idque quum conjectura consequi possumus, quod vix videtur humani consilii tantarum rerum gubernatio esse potuisse, tum vero ita praesentes his temporibus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt, ut eos paene oculis videre possemus. Nam ut illa omittam, visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces ardoremque caeli, ut fulminum jactus, ut terrae motus relinquam, ut omittam cetera, quae ita multa nobis consulibus facta sunt, ut haec, quae nunc fiunt, canere dii immortales viderentur, hoc certe, quod sum dicturus, neque praetermittendum neque relinquendum est. Nam profecto memoria tenetis, Cotta et Torquato consulibus complures in Capitolio res de caelo esse percussas, quum et simulacra deorum depulsa sunt et statuae veterum hominum dejectae et legum aera liquefacta et tactus etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus, quem inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque lactantem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem, fuisse meministis. Quo quidem tempore quum haruspices ex tota Etruria convenissent, caedes atque incendia et legum interitum et bellum civile ac domesticum et totius urbis atque imperii occasum appropinquare dixerunt, nisi dii immortales omni ratione placati suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent.

Itaque illorum responsis tum et ludi per dies decem facti sunt, neque res ulla, quae ad placandos deos pertineret, praetermissa est: iidemque jusserunt simulacrum Jovis facere majus et in excelso collocare et contra, atque ante fuerat, ad orientem convertere; ac se sperare dixerunt, si illud signum, quod videtis, solis ortum et forum curiamque conspiceret, fore ut ea consilia, quae clam essent inita contra salutem urbis atque imperii, illustrarentur, ut

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a senatu populoque Romano perspici possent. Atque illud signum collocandum consules illi locaverunt, sed tanta fuit operis tarditas, ut neque superioribus consulibus neque nobis ante hodiernum diem collocaretur.

IX. Hic quis potest esse, Quirites, tam aversus a vero, tam praeceps, tam mente captus, qui neget haec omnia, quae videmus, praecipueque hanc urbem deorum immortalium nutu ac potestate administrari? Etenim quum esset ita responsum, caedes, incendia, interitum rei publicae comparari, et ea per cives; quae tum propter magnitudinem scelerum nonnullis incredibilia videbantur, ea non modo cogitata a nefariis civibus, verum etiam suscepta sensistis. Illud vero nonne ita praesens est, ut nutu Jovis Optimi Maximi factum esse videatur, ut, quum hodierno die mane per forum meo jussu et conjurati et eorum indices in aedem Concordiae ducerentur, eo ipso tempore signum statueretur? Quo collocato atque ad vos senatumque converso, omnia, quae erant cogitata contra salutem omnium, illustrata et patefacta vidistis.

Quo etiam majore sunt isti odio supplicioque digni, qui non solum vestris domiciliis atque tectis, sed etiam deorum templis atque delubris sunt funestos ac nefarios ignes inferre conati. Quibus ego si me restitisse dicam, nimium mihi sumam et non sim ferendus. Ille, ille Juppiter restitit; ille Capitolium, ille haec templa, ille cunctam urbem, ille vos omnes salvos esse voluit. Diis ego immortalibus ducibus hanc mentem voluntatemque suscepi atque ad haec tanta indicia perveni. Jam vero ab Lentulo ceterisque domesticis hostibus tam dementer tantae res creditae et ignotis et barbaris commissaeque litterae nunquam essent profecto, nisi ab diis immortalibus huic tantae audaciae consilium esset ereptum. Quid vero? ut homines Galli ex civitate male pacata, quae gens una restat, quae bellum populo Romano facere posse et non nolle videatur, spem imperii ac rerum amplissimarum ultro sibi a patriciis hominibus oblatam negligerent vestramque salutem suis opi-

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bus anteponerent, id non divinitus factum esse putatis, praesertim qui nos non pugnando, sed tacendo superare potuerint?

X. Quam ob rem, Quirites, quoniam ad omnia pulvinaria supplicatio decreta est, celebratote illos dies cum conjugibus ac liberis vestris. Nam multi saepe honores diis immortalibus justi habiti sunt ac debiti, sed profecto justiores nunquam. Erepti enim estis ex crudelissimo ac miserrimo interitu: sine caede, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione togati me uno togato duce et imperatore vicistis. Etenim recordamini, Quirites, omnes civiles dissensiones, non solum eas, quas audistis, sed eas, quas vosmet ipsi meministis atque vidistis. L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit: C. Marium, custodem hujus urbis, multosque fortes viros partim ejecit ex civitate, partim interemit. Cn. Octavius consul armis expulit ex urbe collegam: omnis hic locus acervis corporum et civium sanguine redundavit. Superavit postea Cinna cum Mario: tum vero, clarissimis viris interfectis, lumina civitatis exstincta sunt. Ultus est hujus victoriae crudelitatem postea Sulla, ne dici quidem opus est, quanta deminutione civium et quanta calamitate rei publicae. Dissensit M. Lepidus a clarissimo ac fortissimo viro Q. Catulo: attulit non tam ipsius interitus rei publicae luctum quam ceterorum.

Atque illae tamen omnes dissensiones, quae non ad delendam, sed ad commutandam rem publicam pertinebant— non illi nullam esse rem publicam, sed in ea, quae esset, se esse principes, neque hanc urbem conflagrare, sed se in hac urbe florere voluerunt—ejus modi fuerunt, ut non reconciliatione concordiae, sed internecione civium dijudicatae sint. In hoc autem uno post hominum memoriam maximo crudelissimoque bello, quale bellum nulla unquam barbaria cum sua gente gessit, quo in bello lex haec fuit a Lentulo, Catilina, Cethego, Cassio constituta, ut omnes, qui salva urbe salvi esse possent, in hostium numero ducerentur, ita me gessi, Quirites, ut omnes salvi conservaremini; et, quum

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hostes vestri tantum civium superfuturum putassent, quantum infinitae caedi restitisset, tantum autem urbis, quantum flamma obire non potuisset, et urbem et cives integros incolumesque servavi.

XI. Quibus pro tantis rebus, Quirites, nullum ego a vobis praemium virtutis, nullum insigne honoris, nullum monumentum laudis postulo praeterquam hujus diei memoriam sempiternam. In animis ego vestris omnes triumphos meos, omnia ornamenta honoris, monumenta gloriae, laudis insignia condi et collocari volo. Nihil me mutum potest delectare, nihil tacitum, nihil denique ejus modi, quod etiam minus digni assequi possint. Memoria vestra, Quirites, res nostrae alentur, sermonibus crescent, litterarum monumentis inveterascent et corroborabuntur; eandemque diem intelligo, quam spero aeternam fore, propagatam esse et ad salutem urbis et ad memoriam consulatus mei, unoque tempore in hac re publica duos cives exstitisse, quorum alter fines vestri imperii non terrae, sed caeli regionibus terminaret, alter ejusdem imperii domicilium sedesque servaret.

XII. Sed quoniam earum rerum, quas ego gessi, non eadem est fortuna atque condicio quae illorum, qui externa bella gesserunt, quod mihi cum iis vivendum est, quos vici ac subegi, illi hostes aut interfectos aut oppressos reliquerunt, vestrum est, Quirites, si ceteris facta sua recte prosunt, mihi mea ne quando obsint providere. Mentes enim hominum audacissimorum sceleratae ac nefariae ne vobis nocere possent, ego providi: ne mihi noceant, vestrum est providere. Quamquam, Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil ab istis jam noceri potest. Magnum enim est in bonis praesidium, quod mihi in perpetuum comparatum est, magna in re publica dignitas, quae me semper tacita defendet, magna vis conscientiae, quam qui negligunt, quum me violare volent, se indicabunt.

Est etiam in nobis is animus, Quirites, ut non modo nullius audaciae cedamus, sed etiam omnes improbos ultro

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semper lacessamus. Quod si omnis impetus domesticorum hostium, depulsus a vobis, se in me unum converterit, vobis erit videndum, Quirites, qua condicione posthac eos esse velitis, qui se pro salute vestra obtulerint invidiae periculisque omnibus: mihi quidem ipsi quid est, quod jam ad vitae fructum possit acquiri, quum praesertim neque in honore vestro neque in gloria virtutis quidquam videam altius, quo mihi libeat ascendere? Illud profecto perficiam, Quirites, ut ea, quae gessi in consulatu, privatus tuear atque ornem, ut, si qua est invidia conservanda re publica suscepta, laedat invidos, mihi valeat ad gloriam. Denique ita me in re publica tractabo, ut meminerim semper quae gesserim, curemque ut ea virtute, non casu gesta esse videantur.

Vos, Quirites, quoniam jam nox est, venerati Jovem illum, custodem hujus urbis ac vestrum, in vestra tecta discedite et ea, quamquam jam est periculum depulsum, tamen aeque ac priore nocte custodiis vigiliisque defendite. Id ne vobis diutius faciendum sit atque ut in perpetua pace esse possitis, providebo.

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M. TULLII CICERONIS

IN

L. CATILINAM

ORATIO QUARTA,

HABITA IN SENATU.

I. Video, patres conscripti, in me omnium vestrum ora atque oculos esse conversos; video vos non solum de vestro ac rei publicae, verum etiam, si id depulsum sit, de meo periculo esse sollicitos. Est mihi jucunda in malis et grata in dolore vestra erga me voluntas, sed eam, per deos immortales, deponite atque obliti salutis meae de vobis ac de vestris cogitate. Mihi si haec condicio consulatus data est, ut omnes acerbitates, omnes dolores cruciatusque perferrem, feram non solum fortiter, verum etiam libenter, dum modo meis laboribus vobis populoque Romano dignitas salusque pariatur.

Ego sum ille consul, patres conscripti, cui non forum, in quo omnis aequitas continetur, non campus, consularibus auspiciis consecratus, non curia, summum auxilium omnium gentium, non domus, commune perfugium, non lectus ad quietem datus, non denique haec sedes honoris unquam vacua mortis periculo atque insidiis fuit. Ego multa tacui, multa pertuli, multa concessi, multa meo quodam dolore in vestro timore sanavi. Nunc si hunc exitum consulatus mei dii immortales esse voluerunt, ut vos populumque Romanum ex caede miserrima, conjuges liberosque

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vestros virginesque Vestales ex acerbissima vexatione, templa atque delubra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrum ex foedissima flamma, totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate eriperem, quaecumque mihi uni proponetur fortuna, subeatur. Etenim si P. Lentulus suum nomen inductus a vatibus fatale ad perniciem rei publicae fore putavit, cur ego non laeter meum consulatum ad salutem populi Romani prope fatalem exstitisse?

II. Quare, patres conscripti, consulite vobis, prospicite patriae, conservate vos, conjuges, liberos fortunasque vestras, populi Romani nomen salutemque defendite; mihi parcere ac de me cogitare desinite. Nam primum debeo sperare, omnes deos, qui huic urbi praesident, pro eo mihi ac mereor relaturos esse gratiam: deinde, si quid obtigerit, aequo animo paratoque moriar. Nam neque turpis mors forti viro potest accidere neque immatura consulari neque misera sapienti. Nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus, qui fratris carissimi et amantissimi praesentis maerore non movear horumque omnium lacrimis, a quibus me circumsessum videtis. Neque meam mentem non domum saepe revocat exanimata uxor et abjecta metu filia et parvulus filius, quem mihi videtur amplecti res publica tamquam obsidem consulatus mei, neque ille, qui exspectans hujus exitum diei stat in conspectu meo, gener. Moveor his rebus omnibus, sed in eam partem, uti salvi sint vobiscum omnes, etiam si me vis aliqua oppresserit, potius quam et illi et nos una rei publicae peste pereamus.

Quare, patres conscripti, incumbite ad salutem rei publicae; circumspicite omnes procellas, quae impendent, nisi providetis. Non Ti. Gracchus, quod iterum tribunus plebis fieri voluit, non C. Gracchus, quod agrarios concitare conatus est, non L. Saturninus, quod C. Memmium occidit, in discrimen aliquod atque in vestrae severitatis judicium adducitur: tenentur ii, qui ad urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium caedem, ad Catilinam accipiendum Romae restiterunt; tenentur litterae, signa, manus, denique unius cujus-

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que confessio; sollicitantur Allobroges, servitia excitantur, Catilina arcessitur; id est initum consilium, ut interfectis omnibus nemo ne ad deplorandum quidem populi Romani nomen atque ad lamentandam tanti imperii calamitatem relinquatur.

III. Haec omnia indices detulerunt, rei confessi sunt, vos multis jam judiciis judicavistis; primum quod mihi gratias egistis singularibus verbis et mea virtute atque diligentia perditorum hominum conjurationem patefactam esse decrevistis; deinde quod P. Lentulum se abdicare praetura coëgistis; tum quod eum et ceteros, de quibus judicastis, in custodiam dandos censuistis, maximeque quod meo nomine supplicationem decrevistis, qui honos togato habitus ante me est nemini; postremo hesterno die praemia legatis Allobrogum Titoque Volturcio dedistis amplissima. Quae sunt omnia ejus modi, ut ii, qui in custodiam nominatim dati sunt, sine ulla dubitatione a vobis damnati esse videantur.

Sed ego institui referre ad vos, patres conscripti, tamquam integrum, et de facto quid judicetis, et de poena quid censeatis. Illa praedicam, quae sunt consulis. Ego magnum in re publica versari furorem et nova quaedam misceri et concitari mala jam pridem videbam, sed hanc tantam, tam exitiosam haberi conjurationem a civibus nunquam putavi. Nunc quidquid est, quocumque vestrae mentes inclinant atque sententiae, statuendum vobis ante noctem est. Quantum facinus ad vos delatum sit, videtis. Huic si paucos putatis affines esse, vehementer erratis. Latius opinione disseminatum est hoc malum: manavit non solum per Italiam, verum etiam transcendit Alpes et obscure serpens multas jam provincias occupavit. Id opprimi sustentando et prolatando nullo pacto potest: quacumque ratione placet, celeriter vobis vindicandum est.

IV. Video adhuc duas esse sententias: unam D. Silani, qui censet eos, qui haec delere conati sunt, morte esse multandos; alteram C. Caesaris, qui mortis poenam remo-

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vet, ceterorum suppliciorum omnes acerbitates amplectitur. Uterque et pro sua dignitate et pro rerum magnitudine in summa severitate versatur. Alter eos, qui nos omnes vita privare conati sunt, qui delere imperium, qui populi Romani nomen exstinguere, punctum temporis frui vita et hoc communi spiritu non putat oportere, atque hoc genus poenae saepe in improbos cives in hac re publica esse usurpatum recordatur. Alter intelligit mortem ab diis immortalibus non esse supplicii causa constitutam, sed aut necessitatem naturae aut laborum ac miseriarum quietem. Itaque eam sapientes nunquam inviti, fortes saepe etiam libenter oppetiverunt. Vincula vero, et ea sempiterna, certe ad singularem poenam nefarii sceleris inventa sunt. Municipiis dispertiri jubet. Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis; difficultatem, si rogare: decernatur tamen, si placet. Ego enim suscipiam, et, ut spero, reperiam, qui id, quod salutis omnium causa statueritis, non putent esse suae dignitatis recusare. Adjungit gravem poenam municipiis, si quis eorum vincula ruperit: horribiles custodias circumdat et dignas scelere hominum perditorum. Sancit ne quis eorum poenam, quos condemnat, aut per senatum aut per populum possit levare: eripit etiam spem, quae sola homines in miseriis consolari solet. Bona praeterea publicari jubet: vitam solam reliquit nefariis hominibus, quam si eripuisset, multas uno dolore animi atque corporis aerumnas et omnes scelerum poenas ademisset. Itaque ut aliqua in vita formido improbis esset posita, apud inferos ejus modi quaedam illi antiqui supplicia impiis constituta esse voluerunt, quod videlicet intelligebant iis remotis non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.

V. Nunc ego, patres conscripti, mea video quid intersit. Si eritis secuti sententiam C. Caesaris, quoniam hanc is in re publica viam, quae popularis habetur, secutus est, fortasse minus erunt, hoc auctore et cognitore hujusce sententiae, mihi populares impetus pertimescendi: sin illam

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alteram, nescio an amplius mihi negotii contrahatur. Sed tamen meorum periculorum rationes utilitas rei publicae vincat. Habemus enim a Caesare, sicut ipsius dignitas et majorum ejus amplitudo postulabat, sententiam tamquam obsidem perpetuae in rem publicam voluntatis. Intellectum est, quid interesset inter levitatem contionatorum et animum vere popularem, saluti populi consulentem.

Video de istis, qui se populares haberi volunt, abesse non neminem, ne de capite videlicet civium Romanorum sententiam ferat. Is et nudius tertius in custodiam cives Romanos dedit et supplicationem mihi decrevit et indices hesterno die maximis praemiis affecit. Jam hoc nemini dubium est, qui reo custodiam, quaesitori gratulationem, indici praemium decrerit, quid de tota re et causa judicarit. At vero C. Caesar intelligit, legem Semproniam esse de civibus Romanis constitutam; qui autem rei publicae sit hostis, eum civem nullo modo esse posse; denique ipsum latorem Semproniae legis injussu populi poenas rei publicae dependisse. Idem ipsum Lentulum, largitorem et prodigum, non putat, quum de pernicie populi Romani, exitio hujus urbis tam acerbe, tam crudeliter cogitarit, etiam appellari posse popularem. Itaque homo mitissimus atque lenissimus non dubitat P. Lentulum aeternis tenebris vinculisque mandare, et sancit in posterum, ne quis hujus supplicio levando se jactare et in perniciem populi Romani posthac popularis esse possit: adjungit etiam publicationem bonorum, ut omnes animi cruciatus et corporis etiam egestas ac mendicitas consequatur.

VI. Quam ob rem sive hoc statueritis, dederitis mihi comitem ad contionem populo carum atque jucundum, sive Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facile me atque vos crudelitatis vituperatione populus Romanus exsolvet, atque obtinebo eam multo leniorem fuisse. Quamquam, patres conscripti, quae potest esse in tanti sceleris immanitate punienda crudelitas? Ego enim de meo sensu judico. Nam ita mihi salva re publica vobiscum perfrui liceat, ut

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ego, quod in hac causa vehementior sum, non atrocitate animi moveor—quis est enim me mitior?—sed singulari quadam humanitate et misericordia. Videor enim mihi videre hanc urbem, lucem orbis terrarum atque arcem omnium gentium, subito uno incendio concidentem; cerno animo sepulta in patria miseros atque insepultos acervos civium; versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi et furor in vestra caede bacchantis. Quum vero mihi proposui regnantem Lentulum, sicut ipse se sperare ex fatis confessus est, purpuratum esse huic Gabinium, cum exercitu venisse Catilinam, tum lamentationem matrum familias, tum fugam virginum atque puerorum ac vexationem virginum Vestalium perhorresco; et quia mihi vehementer haec videntur misera atque miseranda, idcirco in eos, qui ea perficere voluerunt, me severum vehementemque praebeo. Etenim quaero, si quis pater familias, liberis suis a servo interfectis, uxore occisa, incensa domo, supplicium de servo non quam acerbissimum sumpserit, utrum is clemens ac misericors an inhumanissimus et crudelissimus esse videatur? Mihi vero importunus ac ferreus, qui non dolore et cruciatu nocentis suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit. Sic nos in his hominibus, qui nos, qui conjuges, qui liberos nostros trucidare voluerunt, qui singulas unius cujusque nostrum domos et hoc universum rei publicae domicilium delere conati sunt, qui id egerunt, ut gentem Allobrogum in vestigiis hujus urbis atque in cinere deflagrati imperii collocarent, si vehementissimi fuerimus, misericordes habebimur: sin remissiores esse voluerimus, summae nobis crudelitatis in patriae civiumque pernicie fama subeunda est. Nisi vero cuipiam L. Caesar, vir fortissimus et amantissimus rei publicae, crudelior nudius tertius visus est, quum sororis suae, feminae lectissimae, virum praesentem et audientem vita privandum esse dixit, quum avum suum jussu consulis interfectum filiumque ejus impuberem, legatum a patre missum, in carcere necatum esse dixit. Quorum quod simile factum? quod initum delendae rei pub-

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licae consilium? Largitionis voluntas tum in re publica versata est et partium quaedam contentio. Atque eo tempore hujus avus Lentuli, vir clarissimus, armatus Gracchum est persecutus. Ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit, ne quid de summa re publica deminueretur: hic ad evertenda fundamenta rei publicae Gallos arcessit, servitia concitat, Catilinam vocat, attribuit nos trucidandos Cethego et ceteros cives interficiendos Gabinio, urbem inflammandam Cassio, Italiam totam vastandam diripiendamque Catilinae. Vereamini, censeo, ne in hoc scelere tam immani ac tam nefando nimis aliquid severe statuisse videamini: multo magis est verendum, ne remissione poenae crudeliores in patriam, quam ne severitate animadversionis nimis vehementes in acerbissimos hostes fuisse videamini.

VII. Sed ea, quae exaudio, patres conscripti, dissimulare non possum. Jaciuntur enim voces, quae perveniunt ad aures meas, eorum qui vereri videntur, ne non habeam satis praesidii ad ea, quae vos statueritis hodierno die, transigunda. Omnia et provisa et parata et constituta sunt, patres conscripti, quum mea summa cura atque diligentia, tum etiam multo majore populi Romani ad summum imperium retinendum et ad communes fortunas conservandas voluntate. Omnes adsunt omnium ordinum homines, omnium generum, omnium denique aetatum; plenum est forum, plena templa circum forum, pleni omnes aditus hujus loci ac templi. Causa est enim post urbem conditam haec inventa sola, in qua omnes sentirent unum atque idem, praeter eos, qui quum sibi viderent esse pereundum, cum omnibus potius quam soli perire voluerunt. Hosce ego homines excipio et secerno libenter; neque enim in improborum civium, sed in acerbissimorum hostium numero habendos puto. Ceteri vero, dii immortales, qua frequentia, quo studio, qua virtute ad communem salutem dignitatemque consentiunt! Quid ego hic equites Romanos commemorem? qui vobis ita summam ordinis consiliique concedunt, ut vobiscum de amore rei publicae certent;

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quos ex multorum annorum dissensione hujus ordinis ad societatem concordiamque revocatos hodiernus dies vobiscum atque haec causa conjungit. Quam si conjunctionem, confirmatam in consulatu meo, perpetuam in re publica tenuerimus, confirmo vobis nullum posthac malum civile ac domesticum ad ullam rei publicae partem esse venturum. Pari studio defendendae rei publicae convenisse video tribunos aerarios, fortissimos viros; scribas item universos, quos quum casu hic dies ad aerarium frequentasset, video ab exspectatione sortis ad salutem communem esse conversos. Omnis ingenuorum adest multitudo, etiam tenuissimorum. Quis enim est, cui non haec templa, aspectus urbis, possessio libertatis, lux denique haec ipsa et hoc commune patriae solum quum sit carum, tum vero dulce atque jucundum?

VIII. Operae pretium est, patres conscripti, libertinorum hominum studia cognoscere, qui sua virtute fortunam hujus civitatis consecuti hanc suam patriam judicant, quam quidam hic nati et summo loco nati non patriam suam, sed urbem hostium esse judicaverunt. Sed quid ego hosce homines ordinesque commemoro, quos privatae fortunae, quos communis res publica, quos denique libertas, ea quae dulcissima est, ad salutem patriae defendendam excitavit? Servus est nemo, qui modo tolerabili condicione sit servitutis, qui non audaciam civium perhorrescat, qui non haec stare cupiat, qui non tantum, quantum audet et quantum potest, conferat ad communem salutem voluntatis.

Quare si quem vestrum forte commovet hoc, quod auditum est, lenonem quendam Lentuli concursare circum tabernas, pretio sperare posse sollicitari animos egentium atque imperitorum, est id quidem coeptum atque tentatum, sed nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortuna miseri aut voluntate perditi, qui non illum ipsum sellae atque operis et quaestus quotidiani locum, qui non cubile atque lectulum suum, qui denique non cursum hunc otiosum vitae suae salvum esse velint. Multo vero maxima pars eorum, qui in tabernis

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sunt, immo vero—id enim potius est dicendum—genus hoc universum amantissimum est otii. Etenim omne instrumentum, omnis opera atque quaestus frequentia civium sustentatur, alitur otio: quorum si quaestus occlusis tabernis minui solet, quid tandem incensis futurum fuit?

IX. Quae quum ita sint, patres conscripti, vobis populi Romani praesidia non desunt: vos ne populo Romano deesse videamini, providete. Habetis consulem ex plurimis periculis et insidiis atque ex media morte non ad vitam suam, sed ad salutem vestram reservatum; omnes ordines ad conservandam rem publicam mente, voluntate, studio, virtute, voce consentiunt; obsessa facibus et telis impiae conjurationis vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis; vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis aras Penatium, vobis ignem illum Vestae sempiternum, vobis omnium deorum templa atque delubra, vobis muros atque urbis tecta commendat. Praeterea de vestra vita, de conjugum vestrarum atque liberorum anima, de fortunis omnium, de sedibus, de focis vestris hodierno die vobis judicandum est.

Habetis ducem memorem vestri, oblitum sui, quae non semper facultas datur; habetis omnes ordines, omnes homines, universum populum Romanum, id quod in civili causa hodierno die primum videmus, unum atque idem sentientem. Cogitate, quantis laboribus fundatum imperium, quanta virtute stabilitam libertatem, quanta deorum benignitate auctas exaggeratasque fortunas una nox paene delerit. Id ne unquam posthac non modo confici, sed ne cogitari quidem possit a civibus, hodierno die providendum est. Atque haec, non ut vos, qui mihi studio paene praecurritis, excitarem, locutus sum, sed ut mea vox, quae debet esse in re publica princeps, officio functa consulari videretur.

X. Nunc antequam ad sententiam redeo, de me pauca dicam. Ego, quanta manus est conjuratorum, quam videtis esse permagnam, tantam me inimicorum multitudinem sus-

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cepisse video; sed eam judico esse turpem et infirmam et contemptam et abjectam. Quod si aliquando alicujus furore et scelere concitata manus ista plus valuerit quam vestra ac rei publicae dignitas, me tamen meorum factorum atque consiliorum nunquam, patres conscripti, paenitebit. Etenim mors, quam illi mihi fortasse minitantur, omnibus est parata: vitae tantam laudem, quanta vos me vestris decretis honestastis, nemo est assecutus. Ceteris enim bene gestae, mihi uni conservatae rei publicae gratulationem decrevistis.

Sit Scipio clarus ille, cujus consilio atque virtute Hannibal in Africam redire atque ex Italia decedere coactus est; ornetur alter eximia laude Africanus, qui duas urbes huic imperio infestissimas, Karthaginem Numantiamque, delevit; habeatur vir egregius Paullus ille, cujus currum rex potentissimus quondam et nobilissimus Perses honestavit; sit aeterna gloria Marius, qui bis Italiam obsidione et metu servitutis liberavit: anteponatur omnibus Pompeius, cujus res gestae atque virtutes iisdem, quibus solis cursus, regionibus ac terminis continentur: erit profecto inter horum laudes aliquid loci nostrae gloriae, nisi forte majus est patefacere nobis provincias, quo exire possimus, quam curare, ut etiam illi, qui absunt, habeant quo victores revertantur.

Quamquam est uno loco condicio melior externae victoriae quam domesticae, quia hostes alienigenae aut oppressi serviunt aut recepti in amicitiam beneficio se obligatos putant; qui autem ex numero civium, dementia aliqua depravati, hostes patriae semel esse coeperunt, eos quum a pernicie rei publicae reppuleris, nec vi coërcere nec beneficio placare possis. Quare mihi cum perditis civibus aeternum bellum susceptum esse video. Id ego vestro bonorumque omnium auxilio memoriaque tantorum periculorum, quae non modo in hoc populo, qui servatus est, sed in omnium gentium sermonibus ac mentibus semper haerebit, a me atque a meis facile propulsari posse confido.

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Neque ulla profecto tanta vis reperietur, quae conjunctionem vestram equitumque Romanorum et tantam conspirationem bonorum omnium confringere et labefactare possit.

XI. Quae quum ita sint, pro imperio, pro exercitu, pro provincia, quam neglexi, pro triumpho ceterisque laudis insignibus, quae sunt a me propter urbis vestraeque salutis custodiam repudiata, pro clientelis hospitiisque provincialibus, quae tamen urbanis opibus non minore labore tueor quam comparo, pro his igitur omnibus rebus et pro meis in vos singularibus studiis et pro hac, quam perspicitis, ad conservandam rem publicam diligentia nihil a vobis nisi hujus temporis totiusque mei consulatus memoriam postulo: quae dum erit in vestris fixa mentibus, tutissimo me muro saeptum esse arbitrabor. Quod si meam spem vis improborum fefellerit atque superaverit, commendo vobis meum parvum filium, cui profecto satis erit praesidii non solum ad salutem, verum etiam ad dignitatem, si ejus, qui haec omnia suo solius periculo conservaverit, illum filium esse memineritis.

Quapropter de summa salute vestra populique Romani, de vestris conjugibus ac liberis, de aris ac focis, de fanis ac templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus, de imperio ac libertate, de salute Italiae, de universa re publica decernite diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter. Habetis eum consulem, qui et parere vestris decretis non dubitet et ea quae statueritis, quoad vivet, defendere et per se ipsum praestare possit.

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M. TULLII CICERONIS

PRO

A. LICINIO ARCHIA POETA

ORATIO AD JUDICES.

I. Si quid est in me ingenii, judices, quod sentio quam sit exiguum, aut si qua exercitatio dicendi, in qua me non infitior mediocriter esse versatum, aut si hujusce rei ratio aliqua ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplina profecta, a qua ego nullum confiteor aetatis meae tempus abhorruisse; earum rerum omnium vel in primis hic A. Licinius fructum a me repetere prope suo jure debet. Nam quoad longissime potest mens mea respicere spatium praeteriti temporis et pueritiae memoriam recordari ultimam, inde usque repetens hunc video mihi principem et ad suscipiendam et ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum exstitisse. Quod si haec vox hujus hortatu praeceptisque conformata nonnullis aliquando saluti fuit, a quo id accepimus, quo ceteris opitulari et alios servare possemus, huic profecto ipsi, quantum est situm in nobis, et opem et salutem ferre debemus.

Ac ne quis a nobis hoc ita dici forte miretur, quod alia quaedam in hoc facultas sit ingenii neque haec dicendi ratio aut disciplina, ne nos quidem huic uni studio penitus unquam dediti fuimus. Etenim omnes artes, quae ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur.

II. Sed ne cui vestrum mirum esse videatur, me in

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quaestione legitima et in judicio publico, quum res agatur apud praetorem populi Romani, lectissimum virum, et apud severissimos judices, tanto conventu hominum ac frequentia hoc uti genere dicendi, quod non modo a consuetudine judiciorum, verum etiam a forensi sermone abhorreat; quaeso a vobis ut in hac causa mihi detis hanc veniam, accommodatam huic reo, vobis, quem ad modum spero, non molestam, ut me pro summo poëta atque eruditissimo homine dicentem, hoc concursu hominum litteratissimorum, hac vestra humanitate, hoc denique praetore exercente judicium, patiamini de studiis humanitatis ac litterarum paulo loqui liberius et in ejus modi persona, quae propter otium ac studium minime in judiciis periculisque tractata est, uti prope novo quodam et inusitato genere dicendi. Quod si mihi a vobis tribui concedique sentiam, perficiam profecto ut hunc A. Licinium non modo non segregandum, quum sit civis, a numero civium, verum etiam, si non esset, putetis adsciscendum fuisse.

III. Nam ut primum ex pueris excessit Archias atque ab iis artibus, quibus aetas puerilis ad humanitatem informari solet, se ad scribendi studium contulit, primum Antiochiae—nam ibi natus est loco nobili—celebri quondam urbe et copiosa atque eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis affluenti, celeriter antecellere omnibus ingenii gloria contigit. Post in ceteris Asiae partibus cunctaque Graecia sic ejus adventus celebrabantur, ut famam ingenii exspectatio hominis, exspectationem ipsius adventus admiratioque superaret. Erat Italia tum plena Graecarum artium ac disciplinarum, studiaque haec et in Latio vehementius tum colebantur, quam nunc iisdem in oppidis, et hic Romae propter tranquillitatem rei publicae non negligebantur. Itaque hunc et Tarentini et Regini et Neapolitani civitate ceterisque praemiis donarunt; et omnes, qui aliquid de ingeniis poterant judicare, cognitione atque hospitio dignum existimarunt.

Hac tanta celebritate famae quum esset jam absentibus

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notus, Romam venit Mario consule et Catulo. Nactus est primum consules eos, quorum alter res ad scribendum maximas, alter quum res gestas, tum etiam studium atque aures adhibere posset. Statim Luculli, quum praetextatus etiam tum Archias esset, eum domum suam receperunt. Sed jam hoc non solum ingenii ac litterarum, verum etiam naturae atque virtutis, ut domus, quae hujus adolescentiae proxima fuit, eadem esset familiarissima senectuti. Erat temporibus illis jucundus Q. Metello illi Numidico et ejus Pio filio; audiebatur a M. Aemilio, vivebat cum Q. Catulo et patre et filio, a L. Crasso colebatur; Lucullos vero et Drusum et Octavios et Catonem et totam Hortensiorum domum devinctam consuetudine quum teneret, afficiebatur summo honore, quod eum non solum colebant, qui aliquid percipere atque audire studebant, verum etiam si qui forte simulabant.

IV. Interim satis longo intervallo, quum esset cum M. Lucullo in Siciliam profectus et quum ex ea provincia cum eodem Lucullo decederet, venit Heracliam. Quae quum esset civitas aequissimo jure ac foedere, ascribi se in eam civitatem voluit; idque, quum ipse per se dignus putaretur, tum auctoritate et gratia Luculli ab Heracliensibus impetravit. Data est civitas Silvani lege et Carbonis: *si qui foederatis civitatibus ascripti fuissent, si tum, quum lex ferebatur, in Italia domicilium habuissent et si sexaginta diebus apud praetorem essent professi.* Quum hic domicilium Romae multos jam annos haberet, professus est apud praetorem Q. Metellum, familiarissimum suum.

Si nihil aliud nisi de civitate ac lege dicimus, nihil dico amplius; causa dicta est. Quid enim horum infirmari, Grati, potest? Heracliaene esse tu eum ascriptum negabis? Adest vir summa auctoritate et religione et fide, M. Lucullus, qui se non opinari sed scire, non audivisse sed vidisse, non interfuisse sed egisse dicit. Adsunt Heraclienses legati, nobilissimi homines, hujus judicii causa cum mandatis et cum publico testimonio venerunt, qui hunc

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ascriptum Heracliensem dicunt. Hic tu tabulas desideras Heracliensium publicas, quas Italico bello incenso tabulario interisse scimus omnes. Est ridiculum ad ea, quae habemus, nihil dicere, requirere, quae habere non possumus, et de hominum memoria tacere, litterarum memoriam flagitare; et quum habeas amplissimi viri religionem, integerrimi municipii jus jurandum fidemque, ea, quae depravari nullo modo possunt, repudiare, tabulas, quas idem dicis solere corrumpi, desiderare. An domicilium Romae non habuit is qui tot annis ante civitatem datam sedem omnium rerum ac fortunarum suarum Romae collocavit? An non est professus? Immo vero iis tabulis professus, quae solae ex illa professione collegioque praetorum obtinent publicarum tabularum auctoritatem.

V. Nam quum Appii tabulae negligentius asservatae dicerentur, Gabinii, quam diu incolumis fuit, levitas, post damnationem calamitas omnem tabularum fidem resignasset, Metellus, homo sanctissimus modestissimusque omnium, tanta diligentia fuit, ut ad L. Lentulum praetorem et ad judices venerit et unius nominis litura se commotum esse dixerit. His igitur tabulis nullam lituram in nomine A. Licinii videtis.

Quae quum ita sint, quid est quod de ejus civitate dubitetis, praesertim quum aliis quoque in civitatibus fuerit ascriptus? Etenim quum mediocribus multis et aut nulla aut humili aliqua arte praeditis civitatem in Graecia homines impertiebant, Reginos credo aut Locrenses aut Neapolitanos aut Tarentinos, quod scaenicis artificibus largiri solebant, id huic, summa ingenii praedito gloria, noluisse. Quid, quum ceteri non modo post civitatem datam, sed etiam post legem Papiam aliquo modo in eorum municipiorum tabulas irrepserint, hic, qui ne utitur quidem illis, in quibus est scriptus, quod semper se Heracliensem esse voluit, rejicietur?

Census nostros requiris. Scilicet; est enim obscurum proximis censoribus hunc cum clarissimo imperatore L. Lu-

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cullo apud exercitum fuisse; superioribus cum eodem quaestore fuisse in Asia; primis, Julio et Crasso, nullam populi partem esse censam. Sed quoniam census non jus civitatis confirmat ac tantum modo indicat, eum, qui sit census, ita se jam tum gessisse pro cive, iis temporibus, quem tu criminaris ne ipsius quidem judicio in civium Romanorum jure esse versatum, et testamentum saepe fecit nostris legibus et adiit hereditates civium Romanorum et in beneficiis ad aerarium delatus est a L. Lucullo pro consule. Quaere argumenta, si quae potes; nunquam enim hic neque suo neque amicorum judicio revincetur.

VI. Quaeres a nobis, Grati, cur tanto opere hoc homine delectemur. Quia suppeditat nobis, ubi et animus ex hoc forensi strepitu reficiatur et aures convicio defessae conquiescant. An tu existimas aut suppetere nobis posse, quod quotidie dicamus in tanta varietate rerum, nisi animos nostros doctrina excolamus, aut ferre animos tantam posse contentionem, nisi eos doctrina eadem relaxemus? Ego vero fateor me his studiis esse deditum: ceteros pudeat, si qui ita se litteris abdiderunt, ut nihil possint ex iis neque ad communem afferre fructum neque in aspectum lucemque proferre; me autem quid pudeat, qui tot annos ita vivo, judices, ut a nullius unquam me tempore aut commodo aut otium meum abstraxerit aut voluptas avocarit aut denique somnus retardarit?

Quare quis tandem me reprehendat aut quis mihi jure succenseat, si quantum ceteris ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporum, quantum alii tribuunt tempestivis conviviis, quantum denique alveolo, quantum pilae, tantum mihi egomet ad haec studia recolenda sumpsero? Atque hoc eo mihi concedendum est magis, quod ex his studiis haec quoque crescit oratio et facultas, quae, quantacumque in me est, nunquam amicorum periculis defuit. Quae si cui levior videtur, illa quidem certe, quae summa sunt, ex quo fonte

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hauriam sentio. Nam nisi multorum praeceptis multisque litteris mihi ab adolescentia suasissem, nihil esse in vita magno opere expetendum nisi laudem atque honestatem, in ea autem persequenda omnes cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula mortis atque exsilii parvi esse ducenda, nunquam me pro salute vestra in tot ac tantas dimicationes atque in hos profligatorum hominum quotidianos impetus objecissem. Sed pleni omnes sunt libri, plenae sapientium voces, plena exemplorum vetustas: quae jacerent in tenebris omnia, nisi litterarum lumen accederet. Quam multas nobis imagines non solum ad intuendum, verum etiam ad imitandum fortissimorum virorum expressas scriptores et Graeci et Latini reliquerunt; quas ego mihi semper in administranda re publica proponens animum et mentem meam ipsa cogitatione hominum excellentium conformabam.

VII. Quaeret quispiam: "Quid? illi ipsi summi viri, quorum virtutes litteris proditae sunt, istane doctrina, quam tu effers laudibus, eruditi fuerunt?" Difficile est hoc de omnibus confirmare, sed tamen est certum, quod respondeam. Ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse sine doctrina, et naturae ipsius habitu prope divino per sé ipsos et moderatos et graves exstitisse fateor; etiam illud adjungo, saepius ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrina quam sine natura valuisse doctrinam. Atque idem ego hoc contendo, quum ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accesserit ratio quaedam conformatioque doctrinae, tum illud nescio quid praeclarum ac singulare solere exsistere: ex hoc esse hunc numero, quem patres nostri viderunt, divinum hominem Africanum; ex hoc C. Laelium, L. Furium, moderatissimos homines et continentissimos; ex hoc fortissimum virum et illis temporibus doctissimum, M. Catonem illum senem: qui profecto, si nihil ad percipiendam colendamque virtutem litteris adjuvarentur, nunquam se ad earum studium contulissent.

Quod si non hic tantus fructus ostenderetur et si ex his studiis delectatio sola peteretur, tamen, ut opinor, hanc ani-

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mi remissionem humanissimam ac liberalissimam judicaretis. Nam ceterae neque temporum sunt neque aetatum omnium neque locorum: at haec studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solacium praebent; delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.

VIII. Quod si ipsi haec neque attingere neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari deberemus, etiam quum in aliis videremus. Quis nostrum animo tam agresti ac duro fuit, ut Roscii morte nuper non commoveretur? qui quum esset senex mortuus, tamen propter excellentem artem ac venustatem videbatur omnino mori non debuisse. Ergo ille corporis motu tantum amorem sibi conciliarat a nobis omnibus; nos animorum incredibiles motus celeritatemque ingeniorum negligemus? Quoties ego hunc Archiam vidi, judices—utar enim vestra benignitate, quoniam me in hoc novo genere dicendi tam diligenter attenditis—quoties ego hunc vidi, quum litteram scripsisset nullam, magnum numerum optimorum versuum de iis ipsis rebus, quae tum agerentur, dicere ex tempore! quoties revocatum eandem rem dicere commutatis verbis atque sententiis! Quae vero accurate cogitateque scripsisset, ea sic vidi probari, ut ad veterum scriptorum laudem perveniret. Hunc ego non diligam? non admirer? non omni ratione defendum putem? Atque sic a summis hominibus eruditissimisque accepimus, ceterarum rerum studia et doctrina et praeceptis et arte constare; poëtam natura ipsa valere et mentis viribus excitari et quasi divino quodam spiritu inflari. Quare suo jure noster ille Ennius sanctos appellat poëtas, quod quasi deorum aliquo dono atque munere commendati nobis esse videantur.

Sit igitur, judices, sanctum apud vos, humanissimos homines, hoc poëtae nomen, quod nulla unquam barbaria violavit. Saxa et solitudines voci respondent, bestiae saepe immanes cantu flectuntur atque consistunt: nos instituti rebus optimis non poëtarum voce moveamur? Homerum

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Colophonii civem esse dicunt suum, Chii suum vindicant, Salaminii repetunt, Smyrnaei vero suum esse confirmant, itaque etiam delubrum ejus in oppido dedicaverunt; permulti alii praeterea pugnant inter se atque contendunt.

IX. Ergo illi alienum, quia poëta fuit, post mortem etiam expetunt: nos hunc vivum, qui et voluntate et legibus noster est, repudiabimus? praesertim quum omne olim studium atque omne ingenium contulerit Archias ad populi Romani gloriam laudemque celebrandam. Nam et Cimbricas res adolescens attigit et ipsi illi C. Mario, qui durior ad haec studia videbatur, jucundus fuit. Neque enim quisquam est tam aversus a Musis, qui non mandari versibus aeternum suorum laborum praeconium facile patiatur. Themistoclem illum, summum Athenis virum, dixisse aiunt, quum ex eo quaereretur, quod acroama aut cujus vocem libentissime audiret: *ejus, a quo sua virtus optime praedicaretur.* Itaque ille Marius item eximie L. Plotium dilexit, cujus ingenio putabat ea quae gesserit posse celebrari.

Mithridaticum vero bellum, magnum atque difficile et in multa varietate terra marique versatum, totum ab hoc expressum est; qui libri non modo L. Lucullum, fortissimum et clarissimum virum, verum etiam populi Romani nomen illustrant. Populus enim Romanus aperuit Lucullo imperante Pontum, et regiis quondam opibus et ipsa natura et regione vallatum; populi Romani exercitus eodem duce non maxima manu innumerabiles Armeniorum copias fudit; populi Romani laus est, urbem amicissimam Cyzicenorum ejusdem consilio ex omni impetu regio atque e totius belli ore ac faucibus ereptam esse atque servatam; nostra semper feretur et praedicabitur L. Lucullo dimicante, quum interfectis ducibus depressa hostium classis est, incredibilis apud Tenedum pugna illa navalis; nostra sunt tropaea, nostra monumenta, nostri triumphi: quae quorum ingeniis efferuntur, ab iis populi Romani fama celebratur. Carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius, itaque etiam in sepulcro

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Scipionum putatur is esse constitutus ex marmore; cujus laudibus certe non solum ipse, qui laudatur, sed etiam populi Romani nomen ornatur. In caelum hujus proavus Cato tollitur; magnus honos populi Romani rebus adjungitur. Omnes denique illi Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii non sine communi omnium nostrum laude decorantur.

X. Ergo illum, qui haec fecerat, Rudinum hominem, majores nostri in civitatem receperunt; nos hunc Heraclienseem, multis civitatibus expetitum, in hac autem legibus constitutum, de nostra civitate ejiciemus?

Nam si quis minorem gloriae fructum putat ex Graecis versibus percipi quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat, propterea quod Graeca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur. Quare si res eae, quas gessimus, orbis terrae regionibus definiuntur, cupere debemus, quo manuum nostrarum tela pervenerint, eodem gloriam famamque penetrare, quod quum ipsis populis, de quorum rebus scribitur, haec ampla sunt, tum iis certe, qui de vita gloriae causa dimicant, hoc maximum et periculorum incitamentum est et laborum.

Quam multos scriptores rerum suarum magnus ille Alexander secum habuisse dicitur! Atque is tamen, quum in Sigeo ad Achillis tumulum adstitisset, "O fortunate" inquit "adolescens, qui tuae virtutis Homerum praeconem inveneris!" Et vere: nam nisi Ilias illa exstitisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset. Quid? noster hic Magnus, qui cum virtute fortunam adaequavit, nonne Theophanem Mitylenaeum, scriptorem rerum suarum, in contione militum civitate donavit; et nostri illi fortes viri, sed rustici ac milites, dulcedine quadam gloriae commoti, quasi participes ejusdem laudis, magno illud clamore approbaverunt?

Itaque, credo, si civis Romanus Archias legibus non esset, ut ab aliquo imperatore civitate donaretur, perficere non potuit. Sulla quum Hispanos et Gallos donaret, credo, hunc petentem repudiasset: quem nos in contione vidimus,

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quum ei libellum malus poëta de populo subjecisset, quod epigramma in eum fecisset tantum modo alternis versibus longiusculis, statim ex iis rebus, quas tum vendebat, jubere ei praemium tribui, sed ea condicione, ne quid postea scriberet. Qui sedulitatem mali poëtae duxerit aliquo tamen praemio dignam, hujus ingenium et virtutem in scribendo et copiam non expetisset? Quid, a Q. Metello Pio, familiarissimo suo, qui civitate multos donavit, neque per se neque per Lucullos impetravisset? qui praesertim usque eo de suis rebus scribi cuperet, ut etiam Cordubae natis poëtis, pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum, tamen aures suas dederit.

XI. Neque enim est hoc dissimulandum, quod obscurari non potest, sed prae nobis ferendum; trahimur omnes studio laudis et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur. Ipsi illi philosophi etiam in illis libellis, quos de contemnenda gloria scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt; in eo ipso, in quo praedicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, praedicari de se ac nominari volunt. Decimus quidem Brutus, summus vir et imperator, Attii, amicissimi sui, carminibus templorum ac monumentorum aditus exornavit suorum. Jam vero ille, qui cum Aetolis Ennio comite bellavit, Fulvius, non dubitavit Martis manubias Musis consecrare. Quare, in qua urbe imperatores prope armati poëtarum nomen et Musarum delubra coluerunt, in ea non debent togati judices a Musarum honore et a poëtarum salute abhorrere.

Atque ut id libentius faciatis, jam me vobis, judices, indicabo et de meo quodam amore gloriae, nimis acri fortasse, verum tamen honesto, vobis confitebor. Nam quas res nos in consulatu nostro vobiscum simul pro salute hujus urbis atque imperii et pro vita civium proque universa re publica gessimus, attigit hic versibus atque inchoavit: quibus auditis, quod mihi magna res et jucunda visa est, hunc ad perficiendum adhortatus sum. Nullam enim virtus aliam mercedem laborum periculorumque desiderat praeter hanc laudis et gloriae: qua quidem detracta, judices, quid est quod

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in hoc tam exiguo vitae curriculo et tam brevi tantis nos in laboribus exerceamus?

Certe, si nihil animus praesentiret in posterum, et si, quibus regionibus vitae spatium circumscriptum est, eisdem omnes cogitationes terminaret suas, nec tantis se laboribus frangeret neque tot curis vigiliisque angeretur nec toties de ipsa vita dimicaret. Nunc insidet quaedam in optimo quoque virtus, quae noctes ac dies animum gloriae stimulis concitat atque admonet, non cum vitae tempore esse dimetiendam commemorationem nominis nostri, sed cum omni posteritate adaequandam.

XII. An vero tam parvi animi videamur esse omnes, qui in re publica atque in his vitae periculis laboribusque versamur, ut, quum usque ad extremum spatium nullum tranquillum atque otiosum spiritum duxerimus, nobiscum simul moritura omnia arbitremur? An statuas et imagines, non animorum simulacra, sed corporum, studiose multi summi homines reliquerunt; consiliorum relinquere ac virtutum nostrarum effigiem nonne multo malle debemus, summis ingeniis expressam et politam? Ego vero omnia, quae gerebam, jam tum in gerendo spargere me ac disseminare arbitrabar in orbis terrae memoriam sempiternam. Haec vero sive a meo sensu post mortem abfutura est, sive, ut sapientissimi homines putaverunt, ad aliquam mei partem pertinebit, nunc quidem certe cogitatione quadam speque delector.

Quare conservate, judices, hominem pudore eo, quem amicorum videtis comprobari quum dignitate tum etiam vetustate; ingenio autem tanto, quantum id convenit existimari, quod summorum hominum ingeniis expetitum esse videatis; causa vero ejus modi, quae beneficio legis, auctoritate municipii, testimonio Luculli, tabulis Metelli comprobetur. Quae quum ita sint, petimus a vobis, judices, si qua non modo humana, verum etiam divina in tantis ingeniis commendatio debet esse, ut eum, qui vos, qui vestros imperatores, qui populi Romani res gestas semper ornavit, qui etiam his recentibus nostris vestrisque domesticis pericu-

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lis aeternum se testimonium laudis daturum esse profitetur, estque ex eo numero, qui semper apud omnes sancti sunt habiti itaque dicti, sic in vestram accipiatis fidem, ut humanitate vestra levatus potius quam acerbitate violatus esse videatur. Quae de causa pro mea consuetudine breviter simpliciterque dixi, judices, ea confido probata esse omnibus: quae a forensi aliena judicialique consuetudine et de hominis ingenio et communiter de ipsius studio locutus sum, ea, judices, a vobis spero esse in bonam partem accepta, ab eo, qui judicium exercet, certo scio.

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M. TULLII CICERONIS

DE

IMPERIO CN. POMPEII

SIVE

PRO LEGE MANILIA

ORATIO AD QUIRITES.

I. QUAMQUAM mihi semper frequens conspectus vester multo jucundissimus, hic autem locus ad agendum amplissimus, ad dicendum ornatissimus est visus, Quirites, tamen hoc aditu laudis, qui semper optimo cuique maxime patuit, non mea me voluntas adhuc, sed vitae meae rationes ab ineunte aetate susceptae prohibuerunt. Nam quum antea per aetatem nondum hujus auctoritatem loci attingere auderem statueremque nihil huc nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industria afferri oportere, omne meum tempus amicorum temporibus transmittendum putavi. Ita neque hic locus vacuus unquam fuit ab iis, qui vestram causam defenderent, et meus labor, in privatorum periculis caste integreque versatus, ex vestro judicio fructum est amplissimum consecutus. Nam quum propter dilationem comitiorum ter praetor primus centuriis cunctis renuntiatus sum, facile intellexi, Quirites, et quid de me judicaretis et quid aliis praescriberetis. Nunc, quum et auctoritatis in me tantum sit, quantum vos honoribus mandandis esse voluistis, et ad agendum facultatis tantum, quantum homini vigilanti ex forensi usu prope quotidiana dicendi exercitatio potuit afferre, certe et

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si quid auctoritatis in me est, apud eos utar, qui eam mihi dederunt, et si quid in dicendo consequi possum, iis ostendam potissimum, qui ei quoque rei fructum suo judicio tribuendum esse duxerunt. Atque illud in primis mihi laetandum jure esse video, quod in hac insolita mihi ex hoc loco ratione dicendi causa talis oblata est, in qua oratio deesse nemini possit. Dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompeii singulari eximiaque virtute; hujus autem orationis difficilius est exitum quam principium invenire. Ita mihi non tam copia quam modus in dicendo quaerendus est.

II. Atque ut inde oratio mea proficiscatur, unde haec omnis causa ducitur, bellum grave et periculosum vestris vectigalibus ac sociis a duobus potentissimis regibus infertur, Mithridate et Tigrane, quorum alter relictus, alter lacessitus occasionem sibi ad occupandam Asiam oblatam esse arbitrantur. Equitibus Romanis, honestissimis viris, afferuntur ex Asia quotidie litterae, quorum magnae res aguntur, in vestris vectigalibus exercendis occupatae; qui ad me pro necessitudine, quae mihi est cum illo ordine, causam rei publicae periculaque rerum suarum detulerunt; Bithyniae, quae nunc vestra provincia est, vicos exustos esse complures; regnum Ariobarzanis, quod finitimum est vestris vectigalibus, totum esse in hostium potestate; L. Lucullum magnis rebus gestis ab eo bello discedere; huic qui successerit non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum administrandum; unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus ad id bellum imperatorem deposci atque expeti, eundem hunc unum ab hostibus metui, praeterea neminem.

Causa quae sit videtis: nunc quid agendum sit considerate. Primum mihi videtur de genere belli, deinde de magnitudine, tum de imperatore deligendo esse dicendum. Genus est belli ejus modi, quod maxime vestros animos excitare atque inflammare ad persequendi studium debeat; in quo agitur populi Romani gloria, quae vobis a majoribus quum magna in omnibus rebus, tum summa in re militari tradita est; agitur salus sociorum atque amicorum, pro qua multa

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majores vestri magna et gravia bella gesserunt; aguntur certissima populi Romani vectigalia et maxima, quibus amissis et pacis ornamenta et subsidia belli requiretis; aguntur bona multorum civium, quibus est a vobis et ipsorum et rei publicae causa consulendum.

III. Et quoniam semper appetentes gloriae praeter ceteras gentes atque avidi laudis fuistis, delenda est vobis illa macula Mithridatico bello superiore concepta, quae penitus jam insedit ac nimis inveteravit in populi Romani nomine; quod is, qui uno die tota in Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio atque una significatione litterarum cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit, non modo adhuc poenam nullam suo dignam scelere suscepit, sed ab illo tempore annum jam tertium et vicesimum regnat, et ita regnat, ut se non Ponti neque Cappadociae latebris occultare velit, sed emergere ex patrio regno atque in vestris vectigalibus, hoc est in Asiae luce versari. Etenim adhuc ita nostri cum illo rege contenderunt imperatores, ut ab illo insignia victoriae, non victoriam reportarent. Triumphavit L. Sulla, triumphavit L. Murena de Mithridate, duo fortissimi viri et summi imperatores; sed ita triumpharunt, ut ille pulsus superatusque regnaret. Verum tamen illis imperatoribus laus est tribuenda, quod egerunt, venia danda, quod reliquerunt; propterea quod ab eo bello Sullam in Italiam res publica, Murenam Sulla revocavit.

IV. Mithridates autem omne reliquum tempus non ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad comparationem novi contulit: qui postea quam maximas aedificasset ornassetque classes exercitusque permagnos quibuscumque ex gentibus posset comparasset et se Bosporanis, finitimis suis, bellum inferre simularet, usque in Hispaniam legatos ac litteras misit ad eos duces, quibuscum tum bellum gerebamus, ut, quum duobus in locis disjunctissimis maximeque diversis uno consilio a binis hostium copiis bellum terra marique gereretur, vos ancipiti contentione districti de imperio dimicaretis.

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Sed tamen alterius partis periculum, Sertorianae atque Hispaniensis, quae multo plus firmamenti ac roboris habebat, Cn. Pompeii divino consilio ac singulari virtute depulsum est; in altera parte ita res a L. Lucullo, summo viro, est administrata, ut initia illa rerum gestarum magna atque praeclara non felicitati ejus, sed virtuti, haec autem extrema, quae nuper acciderunt, non culpae, sed fortunae tribuenda esse videantur. Sed de Lucullo dicam alio loco, et ita dicam, Quirites, ut neque vera laus ei detracta oratione mea neque falsa afficta esse videatur. De vestri imperii dignitate atque gloria, quoniam is est exorsus orationis meae, videte quem vobis animum suscipiendum putetis.

V. Majores nostri saepe, mercatoribus aut navicularis nostris injuriosius tractatis, bella gesserunt; vos, tot milibus civium Romanorum uno nuntio atque uno tempore necatis, quo tandem animo esse debetis? Legati quod erant appellati superbius, Corinthum patres vestri, totius Graeciae lumen, exstinctum esse voluerunt: vos eum regem inultum esse patiemini, qui legatum populi Romani consularem vinculis ac verberibus atque omni supplicio excruciatum necavit? Illi libertatem civium Romanorum imminutam non tulerunt: vos vitam ereptam negligetis? Jus legationis verbo violatum illi persecuti sunt: vos legatum omni supplicio interfectum relinquetis? Videte ne, ut illis pulcherrimum fuit tantam vobis imperii gloriam tradere, sic vobis turpissimum sit id quod accepistis tueri et conservare non posse.

Quid? quod salus sociorum summum in periculum ac discrimen vocatur, quo tandem animo ferre debetis? Regno est expulsus Ariobarzanes rex, socius populi Romani atque amicus; imminent duo reges toti Asiae, non solum vobis inimicissimi, sed etiam vestris sociis atque amicis; civitates autem omnes, cuncta Asia atque Graecia, vestrum auxilium exspectare propter periculi magnitudinem coguntur; imperatorem a vobis certum deposcere, quum praesertim vos alium miseritis, neque audent neque se id facere

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sine summo periculo posse arbitrantur. Vident et sentiunt hoc idem quod vos, unum virum esse, in quo summa sint omnia, et eum propter esse, quo etiam carent aegrius: cujus adventu ipso atque nomine, tametsi ille ad maritimum bellum venerit, tamen impetus hostium repressos esse intelligunt ac retardatos. Hi vos, quoniam libere loqui non licet, tacite rogant, ut se quoque, sicut ceterarum provinciarum socios, dignos existimetis quorum salutem tali viro commendetis; atque hoc etiam magis, quod ceteros in provinciam ejus modi homines cum imperio mittimus, ut, etiam si ab hoste defendant, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbes sociorum non multum ab hostili expugnatione differant. Hunc audiebant antea, nunc praesentem vident tanta temperantia, tanta mansuetudine, tanta humanitate, ut ii beatissimi esse videantur, apud quos ille diutissime commoratur.

VI. Quare, si propter socios, nulla ipsi injuria lacessiti, majores nostri cum Antiocho, cum Philippo, cum Aetolis, cum Poenis bella gesserunt, quanto vos studio convenit, injuriis provocatos, sociorum salutem una cum imperii vestri dignitate defendere, praesertim quum de maximis vestris vectigalibus agatur? Nam ceterarum provinciarum vectigalia, Quirites, tanta sunt, ut iis ad ipsas provincias tutandas vix contenti esse possimus: Asia vero tam opima est ac fertilis, ut et ubertate agrorum et varietate fructuum et magnitudine pastionis et multitudine earum rerum, quae exportantur, facile omnibus terris antecellat. Itaque haec vobis provincia, Quirites, si et belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem retinere vultis, non modo a calamitate, sed etiam a metu calamitatis est defendenda. Nam in ceteris rebus, quum venit calamitas, tum detrimentum accipitur: at in vectigalibus non solum adventus mali, sed etiam metus ipse affert calamitatem. Nam quum hostium copiae non longe absunt, etiam si irruptio nulla facta est, tamen pecua relinquuntur, agri cultura deseritur, mercatorum navigatio conquiescit. Ita neque ex portu neque ex decumis neque ex

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scriptura vectigal conservari potest: quare saepe totius anni fructus uno rumore periculi atque uno belli terrore amittitur.

Quo tandem animo esse existimatis aut eos, qui vectigalia nobis pensitant, aut eos, qui exercent atque exigunt, quum duo reges cum maximis copiis propter adsint? quum una excursio equitatus perbrevi tempore totius anni vectigal auferre possit? quum publicani familias maximas, quas in saltibus habent, quas in agris, quas in portubus atque custodiis, magno periculo se habere arbitrentur? Putatisne vos illis rebus frui posse, nisi eos, qui vobis fructui sunt, conservaritis, non solum, ut ante dixi, calamitate, sed etiam calamitatis formidine liberatos?

VII. Ac ne illud quidem vobis negligendum est, quod mihi ego extremum proposueram, quum essem de belli genere dicturus, quod ad multorum bona civium Romanorum pertinet: quorum vobis pro vestra sapientia, Quirites, habenda est ratio diligenter. Nam et publicani, homines honestissimi atque ornatissimi, suas rationes et copias in illam provinciam contulerunt, quorum ipsorum per se res et fortunae vobis curae esse debent; etenim si vectigalia nervos esse rei publicae semper duximus, eum certe ordinem, qui exercet illa, firmamentum ceterorum ordinum recte esse dicemus.

Deinde ex ceteris ordinibus homines gnavi atque industrii partim ipsi in Asia negotiantur, quibus vos absentibus consulere debetis, partim eorum in ea provincia pecunias magnas collocatas habent. Erit igitur humanitatis vestrae magnum numerum eorum civium calamitate prohibere, sapientiae videre, multorum civium calamitatem a re publica sejunctam esse non posse. Etenim primum illud parvi refert, nos publicanis amissis vectigalia postea victoria recuperare; neque enim iisdem redimendi facultas erit propter calamitatem neque aliis voluntas propter timorem.

Deinde, quod nos eadem Asia atque idem iste Mithridates initio belli Asiatici docuit, id quidem certe calamitate docti memoria retinere debemus. Nam tum, quum in Asia

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res magnas permulti amiserant, scimus Romae solutione impedita fidem concidisse. Non enim possunt una in civitate multi rem ac fortunas amittere, ut non plures secum in eandem trahant calamitatem. A quo periculo prohibete rem publicam, et mihi credite, id quod ipsi videtis: haec fides atque haec ratio pecuniarum, quae Romae, quae in foro versatur, implicata est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis et cohaeret. Ruere illa non possunt, ut haec non eodem labefacta motu concidant. Quare videte num dubitandum vobis sit omni studio ad id bellum incumbere, in quo gloria nominis vestri, salus sociorum, vectigalia maxima, fortunae plurimorum civium conjunctae cum re publica defendantur.

VIII. Quoniam de genere belli dixi, nunc de magnitudine pauca dicam. Potest enim hoc dici; belli genus esse ita necessarium, ut sit gerendum, non esse ita magnum, ut sit pertimescendum. In quo maxime laborandum est, ne forte ea vobis, quae diligentissime providenda sunt, contemnenda esse videantur. Atque ut omnes intelligant me L. Lucullo tantum impertire laudis, quantum forti viro et sapienti homini et magno imperatori debeatur, dico ejus adventu maximas Mithridatis copias omnibus rebus ornatas atque instructas fuisse urbemque Asiae clarissimam nobisque amicissimam, Cyzicenorum, obsessam esse ab ipso rege maxima multitudine et oppugnatam vehementissime, quam L. Lucullus virtute, assiduitate, consilio summis obsidionis periculis liberavit: ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornatam, quae ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammata raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam; magnas hostium praeterea copias multis proeliis esse deletas patefactumque nostris legionibus esse Pontum, qui antea populo Romano ex omni aditu clausus fuisset; Sinopen atque Amisum, quibus in oppidis erant domicilia regis, omnibus rebus ornatas atque refertas, ceterasque urbes Ponti et Cappadociae permultas uno aditu adventuque esse captas; regem spoliatum regno patrio atque avito ad alios se reges atque ad alias gentes supplicem contulisse: atque

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haec omnia salvis populi Romani sociis atque integris vectigalibus esse gesta. Satis opinor haec esse laudis, atque ita, Quirites, ut hoc vos intelligatis, a nullo istorum, qui huic obtrectant legi atque causae, L. Lucullum similiter ex hoc loco esse laudatum.

IX. Requiretur fortasse nunc, quem ad modum, quum haec ita sint, reliquum possit magnum esse bellum. Cognoscite, Quirites; non enim hoc sine causa quaeri videtur. Primum ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur, quam praedicant in fuga fratris sui membra in iis locis, qua se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa maerorque patrius celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et a majoribus acceperat et ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas in suum regnum congesserat, in Ponto omnem reliquit. Haec dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio maeror, hos laetitia tardavit. Hunc in illo timore et fuga Tigranes, rex Armenius, excepit diffidentemque rebus suis confirmavit et afflictum erexit perditumque recreavit. Cujus in regnum posteaquam L. Lucullus cum exercitu venit, plures etiam gentes contra imperatorem nostrum concitatae sunt. Erat enim metus injectus iis nationibus, quas nunquam populus Romanus neque lacessendas bello neque tentandas putavit. Erat etiam alia gravis atque vehemens opinio, quae animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, fani locupletissimi et religiosissimi diripiendi causa in eas oras nostrum esse exercitum adductum. Ita nationes multae atque magnae novo quodam terrore ac metu concitabantur. Noster autem exercitus tametsi urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat et proeliis usus erat secundis, tamen nimia longinquitate locorum ac desiderio suorum commovebatur.

Hic jam plura non dicam; fuit enim illud extremum, ut ex iis locis a militibus nostris reditus magis maturus quam

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processio longior quaereretur. Mithridates autem et suam manum jam confirmarat, eorum, qui se ex ejus regno collegerant, et magnis adventiciis auxiliis multorum regum et nationum juvabatur. Nam hoc fere sic fieri solere accepimus, ut regum afflictae fortunae facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam maximeque eorum, qui aut reges sunt aut vivunt in regno, ut iis nomen regale magnum et sanctum esse videatur. Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam est ausus optare. Nam quum se in regnum suum recepisset, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei praeter spem acciderat, ut illam, posteaquam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret, sed in exercitum nostrum, clarum atque victorem, impetum fecit.

Sinite hoc loco, Quirites, sicut poëtae solent, qui res Romanas scribunt, praeterire me nostram calamitatem, quae tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures imperatoris non ex proelio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor afferret. Hic in illo ipso malo gravissimaque belli offensione L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii diuturnitati modum statuendum vetere exemplo putavistis, partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confectis erant, dimisit, partem M'. Glabrioni tradidit. Multa praetereo consulto, sed ea vos conjectura perspicite, quantum illud bellum factum putetis, quod conjungant reges potentissimi, renovent agitatae nationes, suscipiant integrae gentes, novus imperator noster accipiat vetere exercitu pulso. Satis mihi multa verba fecisse videor, quare esset hoc bellum genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculosum: restat ut de imperatore ad id bellum deligendo ac tantis rebus praeficiendo dicendum esse videatur.

X. Utinam, Quirites, virorum fortium atque innocentium copiam tantam haberetis, ut haec vobis deliberatio difficilis esset, quemnam potissimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello praeficiendum putaretis! Nunc vero quum sit unus Cn. Pompeius, qui non modo eorum hominum, qui nunc sunt, gloriam, sed etiam antiquitatis memoriam virtute su-

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peravit, quae res est quae cujusquam animum in hac causa dubium facere possit? Ego enim sic existimo, in summo imperatore quattuor has res inesse oportere: scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem. Quis igitur hoc homine scientior unquam aut fuit aut esse debuit? qui e ludo atque pueritiae disciplinis, bello maximo atque acerrimis hostibus, ad patris exercitum atque in militiae disciplinam profectus est; qui extrema pueritia miles in exercitu fuit summi imperatoris, ineunte adolescentia maximi ipse exercitus imperator; qui saepius cum hoste conflixit quam quisquam cum inimico concertavit, plura bella gessit quam ceteri legerunt, plures provincias confecit quam alii concupiverunt; cujus adolescentia ad scientiam rei militaris non alienis praeceptis sed suis imperiis, non offensionibus belli sed victoriis, non stipendiis sed triumphis est erudita. Quod denique genus esse belli potest, in quo illum non exercuerit fortuna rei publicae? Civile, Africanum, Transalpinum, Hispaniense, mixtum ex civitatibus atque ex bellicosissimis nationibus, servile, navale bellum, varia et diversa genera et bellorum et hostium, non solum gesta ab hoc uno, sed etiam confecta, nullam rem esse declarant in usu positam militari, quae hujus viri scientiam fugere possit.

XI. Jam vero virtuti Cn. Pompeii quae potest oratio par inveniri? Quid est quod quisquam aut illo dignum aut vobis novum aut cuiquam inauditum possit afferre? Neque enim illae sunt solae virtutes imperatoriae, quae vulgo existimantur, labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo; quae tanta sunt in hoc uno, quanta in omnibus reliquis imperatoribus, quos aut vidimus aut audivimus, non fuerunt.

Testis est Italia, quam ille ipse victor L. Sulla hujus virtute et subsidio confessus est liberatam. Testis est Sicilia, quam multis undique cinctam periculis non terrore belli, sed consilii celeritate explicavit. Testis est Africa,

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quae magnis oppressa hostium copiis eorum ipsorum sanguine redundavit. Testis est Gallia, per quam legionibus nostris iter in Hispaniam Gallorum internicione patefactum est. Testis est Hispania, quae saepissime plurimos hostes ab hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit. Testis est iterum et saepius Italia, quae quum servili bello taetro periculosoque premeretur, ab hoc auxilium absente expetivit; quod bellum exspectatione ejus attenuatum atque imminutum est, adventu sublatum ac sepultum. Testes nunc vero jam omnes orae atque omnes exterae gentes ac nationes, denique maria omnia, quum universa, tum in singulis oris omnes sinus atque portus. Quis enim toto mari locus per hos annos aut tam firmum habuit praesidium, ut tutus esset, aut tam fuit abditus, ut lateret? Quis navigavit, qui non se aut mortis aut servitutis periculo committeret, quum aut hieme aut referto praedonum mari navigaret? Hoc tantum bellum, tam turpe, tam vetus, tam late divisum atque dispersum, quis unquam arbitraretur aut ab omnibus imperatoribus uno anno aut omnibus annis ab uno imperatore confici posse? Quam provinciam tenuistis a praedonibus liberam per hosce annos? quod vectigal vobis tutum fuit? quem socium defendistis? cui praesidio classibus vestris fuistis? Quam multas existimatis insulas esse desertas? quam multas aut metu relictas aut a praedonibus captas urbes esse sociorum?

XII. Sed quid ego longinqua commemoro? Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium populi Romani, longe a domo bellare et propugnaculis imperii sociorum fortunas, non sua tecta defendere. Sociis ego nostris mare per hosce annos clausum fuisse dicam, quum exercitus vestri nunquam a Brundisio nisi hieme summa transmiserint? Qui ad vos ab exteris nationibus venirent, captos querar, quum legati populi Romani redempti sint? Mercatoribus tutum mare non fuisse dicam, quum duodecim secures in praedonum potestatem pervenerint? Cnidum aut Colophonem aut Samum, nobilissimas urbes, innumerabilesque alias captas esse com-

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memorem, quum vestros portus atque eos portus, quibus vitam et spiritum ducitis, in praedonum fuisse potestate sciatis? An vero ignoratis portum Cajetae celeberrimum ac plenissimum navium inspectante praetore a praedonibus esse direptum? ex Miseno autem ejus ipsius liberos, qui cum praedonibus antea ibi bellum gesserat, a praedonibus esse sublatos? Nam quid ego Ostiense incommodum atque illam labem atque ignominiam rei publicae querar, quum prope inspectantibus vobis classis ea, cui consul populi Romani praepositus esset, a praedonibus capta atque oppressa est? Pro dii immortales! tantamne unius hominis incredibilis ac divina virtus tam brevi tempore lucem afferre rei publicae potuit, ut vos, qui modo ante ostium Tiberinum classem hostium videbatis, nunc nullam intra Oceani ostium praedonum navem esse audiatis? Atque haec qua celeritate gesta sint, quamquam videtis, tamen a me in dicendo praetereunda non sunt. Quis enim unquam aut obeundi negotii aut consequendi quaestus studio tam brevi tempore tot loca adire, tantos cursus conficere potuit, quam celeriter Cn. Pompeio duce tanti belli impetus navigavit? qui nondum tempestivo ad navigandum mari Siciliam adiit, Africam exploravit, in Sardiniam cum classe venit, atque haec tria frumentaria subsidia rei publicae firmissimis praesidiis classibusque munivit. Inde quum se in Italiam recepisset, duabus Hispaniis et Gallia transalpina praesidiis ac navibus confirmata, missis item in oram Illyrici maris et in Achaiam omnemque Graeciam navibus Italiae duo maria maximis classibus firmissimisque praesidiis adornavit; ipse autem, ut Brundisio profectus est, undequinquagesimo die totam ad imperium populi Romani Ciliciam adjunxit: omnes, qui ubique praedones fuerunt, partim capti interfectique sunt, partim unius hujus se imperio ac potestati dediderunt. Idem Cretensibus, quum ad eum usque in Pamphyliam legatos deprecatoresque misissent, spem deditionis non ademit obsidesque imperavit. Ita tantum bellum, tam diuturnum, tam longe lateque dispersum, quo bello omnes gentes ac

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nationes premebantur, Cn. Pompeius extrema hieme apparavit, ineunte vere suscepit, media aestate confecit.

XIII. Est haec divina atque incredibilis virtus imperatoris. Quid? ceterae, quas paulo ante commemorare coepe-
5 ram, quantae atque quam multae sunt! Non enim bellandi virtus solum in summo ac perfecto imperatore quaerenda est, sed multae sunt artes eximiae hujus administrae comitesque virtutis. Ac primum quanta innocentia debent esse imperatores! quanta deinde in omnibus rebus tempe-
10 rantia! quanta fide, quanta facilitate, quanto ingenio, quanta humanitate! Quae breviter qualia sint in Cn. Pompeio consideremus; summa enim omnia sunt, Quirites, sed ea magis ex aliorum contentione quam ipsa per sese cognosci atque intelligi possunt.

15 Quem enim imperatorem possumus ullo in numero putare, cujus in exercitu centuriatus veneant atque venierint? Quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum de re publica cogitare, qui pecuniam ex aerario depromptam ad bellum administrandum aut propter cupiditatem provinciae magis-
20 tratibus diviserit aut propter avaritiam Romae in quaestu reliquerit? Vestra admurmuratio facit, Quirites, ut agnoscere videamini, qui haec fecerint: ego autem nomino neminem; quare irasci mihi nemo poterit, nisi qui ante de se voluerit confiteri. Itaque propter hanc avaritiam impera-
25 torum quantas calamitates, quocumque ventum est, nostri exercitus ferant, quis ignorat? Itinera, quae per hosce annos in Italia per agros atque oppida civium Romanorum nostri imperatores fecerint, recordamini: tum facilius statuetis quid apud exteras nationes fieri existimetis. Utrum
30 plures arbitramini per hosce annos militum vestrorum armis hostium urbes an hibernis sociorum civitates esse deletas? Neque enim potest exercitum is continere imperator, qui se ipse non continet, neque severus esse in judicando, qui alios in se severos esse judices non vult.

35 Hic miramur hunc hominem tantum excellere ceteris, cujus legiones sic in Asiam pervenerint, ut non modo ma-

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nus tanti exercitus, sed ne vestigium quidem cuiquam pacato nocuisse dicatur. Jam vero quem ad modum milites hibernent, quotidie sermones ac litterae perferuntur. Non modo ut sumptum faciat in militem nemini vis affertur, sed ne cupienti quidem cuiquam permittitur. Hiemis enim, non avaritiae perfugium majores nostri in sociorum atque amicorum tectis esse voluerunt.

XIV. Age vero ceteris in rebus qua ille sit temperantia, considerate. Unde illam tantam celeritatem et tam incredibilem cursum inventum putatis? Non enim illum eximia vis remigum aut ars inaudita quaedam gubernandi aut venti aliqui novi tam celeriter in ultimas terras pertulerunt, sed eae res, quae ceteros remorari solent, non retardarunt: non avaritia ab instituto cursu ad praedam aliquam devocavit, non libido ad voluptatem, non amoenitas ad delectationem, non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem, non denique labor ipse ad quietem; postremo signa et tabulas ceteraque ornamenta Graecorum oppidorum, quae ceteri tollenda esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille ne visenda quidem existimavit. Itaque omnes nunc in iis locis Cn. Pompeium sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de caelo delapsum intuentur; nunc denique incipiunt credere, fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam continentia, quod jam nationibus exteris incredibile ac falso memoriae proditum videbatur. Nunc imperii vestri splendor illis gentibus lucem afferre coepit; nunc intelligunt non sine causa majores suos tum, quum ea temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano quam imperare aliis maluisse.

Jam vero ita faciles aditus ad eum privatorum, ita liberae querimoniae de aliorum injuriis esse dicuntur, ut is, qui dignitate principibus excellit, facilitate infimis par esse videatur. Jam quantum consilio, quantum dicendi gravitate et copia valeat, in quo ipso inest quaedam dignitas imperatoria, vos, Quirites, hoc ipso ex loco saepe cognovistis. Fidem vero ejus quantam inter socios existimari putatis, quam hostes omnes omnium generum sanctissimam judicarint? Humani-

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tate jam tanta est, ut difficile dictu sit, utrum hostes magis virtutem ejus pugnantes timuerint an mansuetudinem victi dilexerint. Et quisquam dubitabit quin huic hoc tantum bellum transmittendum sit, qui ad omnia nostrae memoriae bella conficienda divino quodam consilio natus esse videatur?

XV. Et quoniam auctoritas quoque in bellis administrandis multum atque in imperio militari valet, certe nemini dubium est quin ea re idem ille imperator plurimum possit. Vehementer autem pertinere ad bella administranda, quid hostes, quid socii de imperatoribus nostris existiment, quis ignorat, quum sciamus homines in tantis rebus, ut aut contemnant aut metuant, aut oderint aut ament, opinione non minus et fama quam aliqua ratione certa commoveri? Quod igitur nomen unquam in orbe terrarum clarius fuit? Cujus res gestae pares? De quo homine vos, id quod maxime facit auctoritatem, tanta et tam praeclara judicia fecistis? An vero ullam usquam esse oram tam desertam putatis, quo non illius diei fama pervaserit, quum universus populus Romanus referto foro completisque omnibus templis, ex quibus hic locus conspici potest, unum sibi ad commune omnium gentium bellum Cn. Pompeium imperatorem depoposcit? Itaque, ut plura non dicam neque aliorum exemplis confirmem, quantum auctoritas valeat in bello, ab eodem Cn. Pompeio omnium rerum egregiarum exempla sumantur: qui quo die a vobis maritimo bello praepositus est imperator, tanta repente vilitas annonae ex summa inopia et caritate rei frumentariae consecuta est unius hominis spe ac nomine, quantam vix in summa ubertate agrorum diuturna pax efficere potuisset. Jam accepta in Ponto calamitate ex eo proelio, de quo vos paulo ante invitus admonui, quum socii pertimuissent, hostium opes animique crevissent, satis firmum praesidium provincia non haberet, amisissetis Asiam, Quirites, nisi ad ipsum discrimen ejus temporis divinitus Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones fortuna populi Romani attulisset. Hujus adventus et Mithridatem insolita inflatum victoria continuit

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et Tigranem magnis copiis minitantem Asiae retardavit. Et quisquam dubitabit, quid virtute perfecturus sit, qui tantum auctoritate perfecerit? aut quam facile imperio atque exercitu socios et vectigalia conservaturus sit, qui ipso nomine ac rumore defenderit?

XVI. Age vero illa res quantam declarat ejusdem hominis apud hostes populi Romani auctoritatem, quod ex locis tam longinquis tamque diversis tam brevi tempore omnes huic se uni dediderunt: quod Cretensium legati, quum in eorum insula noster imperator exercitusque esset, ad Cn. Pompeium in ultimas prope terras venerunt eique se omnes Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixerunt! Quid? idem iste Mithridates nonne ad eundem Cn. Pompeium legatum usque in Hispaniam misit? eum quem Pompeius legatum semper judicavit, ii, quibus erat molestum ad eum potissimum esse missum, speculatorem quam legatum judicari maluerunt. Potestis igitur jam constituere, Quirites, hanc auctoritatem, multis postea rebus gestis magnisque vestris judiciis amplificatam, quantum apud illos reges, quantum apud exteras nationes valituram esse existimetis.

Reliquum est ut de felicitate, quam praestare de se ipso nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare de altero possumus, sicut aequum est homines de potestate deorum, timide et pauca dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo: Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario et ceteris magnis imperatoribus non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam saepius imperia mandata atque exercitus esse commissos. Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quaedam ad amplitudinem et ad gloriam et ad res magnas bene gerendas divinitus adjuncta fortuna. De hujus autem hominis felicitate, de quo nunc agimus, hac utar moderatione dicendi, non ut in illius potestate fortunam positam esse dicam, sed ut praeterita meminisse, reliqua sperare videamur, ne aut invisa diis immortalibus oratio nostra aut ingrata esse videatur.

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Itaque non sum praedicaturus, quantas ille res domi militiae, terra marique, quantaque felicitate gesserit, ut ejus semper voluntatibus non modo cives assenserint, socii obtemperarint, hostes obedierint, sed etiam venti tempestatesque obsecundarint. Hoc brevissime dicam, neminem unquam tam impudentem fuisse, qui ab diis immortalibus tot et tantas res tacitus auderet optare, quot et quantas dii immortales ad Cn. Pompeium detulerunt. Quod ut illi proprium ac perpetuum sit, Quirites, quum communis salutis atque imperii, tum ipsius hominis causa, sicuti facitis, velle et optare debetis.

Quare quum et bellum sit ita necessarium, ut negligi non possit, ita magnum, ut accuratissime sit administrandum, et quum ei imperatorem praeficere possitis, in quo sit eximia belli scientia, singularis virtus, clarissima auctoritas, egregia fortuna, dubitatis, Quirites, quin hoc tantum boni, quod vobis ab diis immortalibus oblatum et datum est, in rem publicam conservandam atque amplificandam conferatis?

XVII. Quod si Romae Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore, tamen ad tantum bellum is erat deligendus atque mittendus. Nunc, quum ad ceteras summas utilitates haec quoque opportunitas adjungatur, ut in iis ipsis locis adsit, ut habeat exercitum, ut ab iis qui habent accipere statim possit, quid exspectamus? aut cur non ducibus diis immortalibus eidem, cui cetera summa cum salute rei publicae commissa sunt, hoc quoque bellum regium committamus?

At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus rei publicae, vestris beneficiis amplissimis affectus, Q. Catulus, itemque summis ornamentis honoris, fortunae, virtutis, ingenii praeditus, Q. Hortensius, ab hac ratione dissentiunt: quorum ego auctoritatem apud vos multis locis plurimum valuisse et valere oportere confiteor, sed in hac causa, tametsi cognoscetis auctoritates contrarias virorum fortissimorum et clarissimorum, tamen omissis auctoritatibus ipsa re ac ra-

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tione exquirere possumus veritatem; atque hoc facilius, quod ea omnia, quae a me adhuc dicta sunt, iidem isti vera esse concedunt, et necessarium bellum esse et magnum et in uno Cn. Pompeio summa esse omnia.

Quid igitur ait Hortensius? Si uni omnia tribuenda sint, unum dignissimum esse Pompeium, sed ad unum tamen omnia deferri non oportere. Obsolevit jam ista oratio, re multo magis quam verbis refutata. Nam tu idem, Q. Hortensi, multa pro tua summa copia ac singulari facultate dicendi et in senatu contra virum fortem, A. Gabinium, graviter ornateque dixisti, quum is de uno imperatore contra praedones constituendo legem promulgasset, et ex hoc ipso loco permulta item contra eam legem verba fecisti. Quid? tum, per deos immortales, si plus apud populum Romanum auctoritas tua quam ipsius populi Romani salus et vera causa valuisset, hodie hanc gloriam atque hoc orbis terrae imperium teneremus? An tibi tum imperium hoc esse videbatur, quum populi Romani legati, quaestores praetoresque capiebantur? quum ex omnibus provinciis commeatu et privato et publico prohibebamur? quum ita clausa nobis erant maria omnia, ut neque privatam rem transmarinam neque publicam jam obire possemus?

XVIII. Quae civitas antea unquam fuit—non dico Atheniensium, quae satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur, non Karthaginiensium, qui permultum classe ac maritimis rebus valuerunt, non Rhodiorum, quorum usque ad nostram memoriam disciplina navalis et gloria remansit—quae civitas unquam antea tam tenuis, quae tam parva insula fuit, quae non portus suos et agros et aliquam partem regionis atque orae maritimae per se ipsa defenderet? At hercule aliquot annos continuos ante legem Gabiniam ille populus Romanus, cujus usque ad nostram memoriam nomen invictum in navalibus pugnis permanserit, magna ac multo maxima parte non modo utilitatis, sed dignitatis atque imperii caruit. Nos, quorum majores Antiochum regem classe Persemque superarunt omnibusque navalibus pugnis Kartha-

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ginienses, homines in maritimis rebus exercitatissimos paratissimosque, vicerunt, ii nullo in loco jam praedonibus pares esse poteramus. Nos, qui antea non modo Italiam tutam habebamus, sed omnes socios in ultimis oris auctoritate nostri imperii salvos praestare poteramus, tum, quum insula Delos, tam procul a nobis in Aegaeo mari posita, quo omnes undique cum mercibus atque oneribus commeabant, referta divitiis, parva, sine muro, nihil timebat, iidem non modo provinciis atque oris Italiae maritimis ac portubus nostris, sed etiam Appia jam via carebamus. Et iis temporibus non pudebat magistratus populi Romani in hunc ipsum locum escendere, quum eum nobis majores nostri exuviis nauticis et classium spoliis ornatum reliquissent.

XIX. Bono te animo tum, Q. Hortensi, populus Romanus et ceteros, qui erant in eadem sententia, dicere existimavit ea quae sentiebatis; sed tamen in salute communi idem populus Romanus dolori suo maluit quam auctoritati vestrae obtemperare. Itaque una lex, unus vir, unus annus non modo nos illa miseria ac turpitudine liberavit, sed etiam effecit, ut aliquando vere videremur omnibus gentibus ac nationibus terra marique imperare. Quo mihi etiam indignius videtur obtrectatum esse adhuc, Gabinio dicam anne Pompeio an utrique, id quod est verius, ne legaretur A. Gabinius Cn. Pompeio expetenti ac postulanti. Utrum ille, qui postulat ad tantum bellum legatum quem velit, idoneus non est qui impetret, quum ceteri ad expilandos socios diripiendasque provincias quos voluerunt legatos eduxerint; an ipse, cujus lege salus ac dignitas populo Romano atque omnibus gentibus constituta est, expers esse debet gloriae ejus imperatoris atque ejus exercitus, qui consilio ipsius ac periculo est constitutus? An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Caelius Latiniensis, Cn. Lentulus, quos omnes honoris causa nomino, quum tribuni plebis fuissent, anno proximo legati esse potuerunt; in uno Gabinio sunt tam diligentes, qui in hoc bello, quod lege Gabinia geritur, in hoc imperatore atque exercitu, quem per vos ipse constituit, etiam

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praecipuo jure esse deberet? De quo legando consules spero ad senatum relaturos. Qui si dubitabunt aut gravabuntur, ego me profiteor relaturum, neque me impediet cujusquam inimicum edictum, quo minus fretus vobis vestrum jus beneficiumque defendam, neque praeter intercessionem quidquam audiam; de qua, ut arbitror, isti ipsi, qui minantur, etiam atque etiam quid liceat considerabunt. Mea quidem sententia, Quirites, unus A. Gabinius belli maritimi rerumque gestarum Cn. Pompeio socius adscribitur, propterea quod alter uni illud bellum suscipiendum vestris suffragiis detulit, alter delatum susceptumque confecit.

XX. Reliquum est ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et sententia dicendum esse videatur. Qui quum ex vobis quaereret, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia poneretis, si quid eo factum esset, in quo spem essetis habituri, cepit magnum suae virtutis fructum ac dignitatis, quum omnes una prope voce in ipso vos spem habituros esse dixistis. Etenim talis est vir, ut nulla res tanta sit ac tam difficilis, quam ille non et consilio regere et integritate tueri et virtute conficere possit. Sed in hoc ipso ab eo vehementissime dissentio, quod, quo minus certa est hominum ac minus diuturna vita, hoc magis res publica, dum per deos immortales licet, frui debet summi viri vita atque virtute.

At enim ne quid novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta majorum. Non dicam hoc loco, majores nostros semper in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitati paruisse, semper ad novos casus temporum novorum consiliorum rationes accommodasse; non dicam, duo bella maxima, Punicum atque Hispaniense, ab uno imperatore esse confecta duasque urbes potentissimas, quae huic imperio maxime minitabantur, Karthaginem atque Numantiam, ab eodem Scipione esse deletas; non commemorabo, nuper ita vobis patribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uno C. Mario spes imperii poneretur, ut idem cum Jugurtha, idem cum Cimbris, idem cum Teutonis bellum administraret. In ipso Cn. Pompeio, in

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quo novi constitui nihil vult Q. Catulus, quam multa sint nova summa Q. Catuli voluntate constituta recordamini.

XXI. Quid tam novum quam adolescentulum privatum exercitum difficili rei publicae tempore conficere? Confecit. Huic praeesse? Praefuit. Rem optime ductu suo gerere? Gessit. Quid tam praeter consuetudinem quam homini peradolescenti, cujus aetas a senatorio gradu longe abesset, imperium atque exercitum dari, Siciliam permitti atque Africam bellumque in ea provincia administrandum? Fuit in his provinciis singulari innocentia, gravitate, virtute; bellum in Africa maximum confecit, victorem exercitum deportavit. Quid vero tam inauditum quam equitem Romanum triumphare? At eam quoque rem populus Romanus non modo vidit, sed omnium etiam studio visendam et concelebrandam putavit. Quid tam inusitatum quam, quum duo consules clarissimi fortissimique essent, ut eques Romanus ad bellum maximum formidolosissimumque pro consule mitteretur? Missus est. Quo quidem tempore quum esset non nemo in senatu qui diceret, *non oportere mitti hominem privatum pro consule*, L. Philippus dixisse dicitur, *non se illum sua sententia pro consule, sed pro consulibus mittere.* Tanta in eo rei publicae bene gerendae spes constituebatur, ut duorum consulum munus unius adolescentis virtuti committeretur. Quid tam singulare, quam ut ex senatus consulto legibus solutus consul ante fieret, quam ullum alium magistratum per leges capere licuisset? quid tam incredibile, quam ut iterum eques Romanus ex senatus consulto triumpharet? Quae in omnibus hominibus nova post hominum memoriam constituta sunt, ea tam multa non sunt quam haec, quae in hoc uno homine videmus. Atque haec tot exempla, tanta ac tam nova, profecta sunt in eundem hominem a Q. Catuli atque a ceterorum ejusdem dignitatis amplissimorum hominum auctoritate.

XXII. Quare videant, ne sit periniquum et non ferendum, illorum auctoritatem de Cn. Pompeii dignitate a vobis comprobatam semper esse, vestrum ab illis de eodem homi-

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ne judicium populique Romani auctoritatem improbari; praesertim quum jam suo jure populus Romanus in hoc homine suam auctoritatem vel contra omnes qui dissentiunt possit defendere; propterea quod iisdem istis reclamantibus vos unum illum ex omnibus delegistis, quem bello praedonum praeponeretis. Hoc si vos temere fecistis et rei publicae parum consuluistis, recte isti studia vestra suis consiliis regere conantur; sin autem vos plus tum in re publica vidistis, vos his repugnantibus per vosmet ipsos dignitatem huic imperio, salutem orbi terrarum attulistis, aliquando isti principes et sibi et ceteris populi Romani universi auctoritati parendum esse fateantur.

Atque in hoc bello Asiatico et regio non solum militaris illa virtus, quae est in Cn. Pompeio singularis, sed aliae quoque virtutes animi magnae et multae requiruntur. Difficile est in Asia, Cilicia, Syria regnisque interiorum nationum ita versari nostrum imperatorem, ut nihil aliud nisi de hoste ac de laude cogitet. Deinde etiam si qui sunt pudore ac temperantia moderatiores, tamen eos esse tales propter multitudinem cupidorum hominum nemo arbitratur. Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud exteras nationes propter eorum, quos ad eas per hos annos cum imperio misimus, libidines et injurias. Quod enim fanum putatis in illis terris nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem sanctam, quam domum satis clausam ac munitam fuisse? Urbes jam locupletes et copiosae requiruntur, quibus causa belli propter diripiendi cupiditatem inferatur. Libenter haec coram cum Q. Catulo et Q. Hortensio, summis et clarissimis viris, disputarem; noverunt enim sociorum vulnera, vident eorum calamitates, querimonias audiunt. Pro sociis vos contra hostes exercitum mittere putatis, an hostium simulatione contra socios atque amicos? Quae civitas est in Asia, quae non modo imperatoris aut legati, sed unius tribuni militum animos ac spiritus capere possit?

XXIII. Quare etiam si quem habetis, qui collatis signis exercitus regios superare posse videatur, tamen, nisi erit

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idem, qui se a pecuniis sociorum, qui ab eorum conjugibus ac liberis, qui ab ornamentis fanorum atque oppidorum, qui ab auro gazaque regia manus, oculos, animum cohibere possit, non erit idoneus qui ad bellum Asiaticum regiumque mittatur. Ecquam putatis civitatem pacatam fuisse, quae locuples sit? ecquam esse locupletem, quae istis pacata esse videatur? Ora maritima, Quirites, Cn. Pompeium non solum propter rei militaris gloriam, sed etiam propter animi continentiam requisivit. Videbat enim praetores locupletari quotannis pecunia publica praeter paucos, neque eos quidquam aliud assequi classium nomine, nisi ut detrimentis accipiendis majore affici turpitudine videremur. Nunc qua cupiditate homines in provincias et quibus jacturis, quibus condicionibus proficiscantur, ignorant videlicet isti, qui ad unum deferenda omnia esse non arbitrantur; quasi vero Cn. Pompeium non quum suis virtutibus, tum etiam alienis vitiis magnum esse videamus. Quare nolite dubitare quin huic uni credatis omnia, qui inter tot annos unus inventus sit, quem socii in urbes suas cum exercitu venisse gaudeant. Quod si auctoritatibus hanc causam, Quirites, confirmandam putatis, est vobis auctor vir bellorum omnium maximarumque rerum peritissimus, P. Servilius, cujus tantae res gestae terra marique exstiterunt, ut, quum de bello deliberetis, auctor vobis gravior nemo esse debeat; est C. Curio, summis vestris beneficiis maximisque rebus gestis, summo ingenio et prudentia praeditus; est Cn. Lentulus, in quo omnes pro amplissimis vestris honoribus summum consilium, summam gravitatem esse cognovistis; est C. Cassius, integritate, virtute, constantia singulari. Quare videte, homine auctoritatibus illorum orationi, qui dissentiunt, respondere posse videamur.

XXIV. Quae quum ita sint, C. Manili, primum istam tuam et legem et voluntatem et sententiam laudo vehementissimeque comprobo; deinde te hortor ut auctore populo Romano maneas in sententia neve cujusquam vim aut minas pertimescas. Primum in te satis esse animi perseve-

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rantiaeque arbitror; deinde quum tantam multitudinem cum tanto studio adesse videamus, quantam iterum nunc in eodem homine praeficiendo videmus, quid est quod aut de re aut de perficiendi facultate dubitemus? Ego autem, quidquid est in me studii, consilii, laboris, ingenii, quidquid hoc beneficio populi Romani atque hac potestate praetoria, quidquid auctoritate, fide, constantia possum, id omne ad hanc rem conficiendam tibi et populo Romano polliceor ac defero; testorque omnes deos et eos maxime, qui huic loco temploque praesident, qui omnium mentes eorum qui ad rem publicam adeunt maxime perspiciunt, me hoc neque rogatu facere cujusquam, neque quo Cn. Pompeii gratiam mihi per hanc causam conciliari putem, neque quo mihi ex cujusquam amplitudine aut praesidia periculis aut adjumenta honoribus quaeram; propterea quod pericula facile, ut hominem praestare oportet, innocentia tecti repellemus, honorem autem neque ab uno neque ex hoc loco, sed eadem illa nostra laboriosissima ratione vitae, si vestra voluntas feret, consequemur.

Quam ob rem, quidquid in hac causa mihi susceptum est, Quirites, id omne ego me rei publicae causa suscepisse confirmo, tantumque abest ut aliquam mihi bonam gratiam quaesisse videar, ut multas me etiam simultates partim obscuras, partim apertas intelligam, mihi non necessarias, vobis non inutiles suscepisse. Sed ego me hoc honore praeditum, tantis vestris beneficiis affectum statui, Quirites, vestram voluntatem et rei publicae dignitatem et salutem provinciarum atque sociorum meis omnibus commodis et rationibus praeferre oportere.

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M. TULLII CICERONIS

PRO

M. MARCELLO

ORATIO AD CAESAREM.

I. Diuturni silentii, patres conscripti, quo eram his temporibus usus, non timore aliquo, sed partim dolore, partim verecundia, finem hodiernus dies attulit, idemque initium quae vellem quaeque sentirem meo pristino more dicendi. Tantam enim mansuetudinem, tam inusitatam inauditamque clementiam, tantum in summa potestate rerum omnium modum, tam denique incredibilem sapientiam ac paene divinam tacitus nullo modo praeterire possum. M. enim Marcello vobis, patres conscripti, reique publicae reddito, non solum illius, sed meam etiam vocem et auctoritatem et vobis et rei publicae conservatam ac restitutam puto.

Dolebam enim, patres conscripti, et vehementer angebar virum talem, quum in eadem causa, in qua ego, fuisset, non in eadem esse fortuna; nec mihi persuadere poteram nec fas esse ducebam versari me in nostro veteri curriculo, illo aemulo atque imitatore studiorum ac laborum meorum quasi quodam socio a me et comite distracto. Ergo et mihi meae pristinae vitae consuetudinem, C. Caesar, interclusam aperuisti et his omnibus ad bene de omni re publica sperandum, quasi signum aliquod sustulisti. Intellectum est enim mihi quidem in multis et maxime in me ipso, sed paulo

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ante omnibus, quum M. Marcellum senatui populoque Romano concessisti, commemoratis praesertim offensionibus, te auctoritatem hujus ordinis dignitatemque rei publicae tuis vel doloribus vel suspicionibus anteferre.

Ille quidem fructum omnis ante actae vitae hodierno die maximum cepit, quum summo consensu senatus, tum judicio tuo gravissimo et maximo. Ex quo profecto intelligis, quanta in dato beneficio sit laus, quum in accepto tanta sit gloria. Est vero fortunatus ille, cujus ex salute non minor paene ad omnes, quam ad ipsum ventura sit, laetitia pervenerit. Quod quidem ei merito atque optimo jure contigit. Quis enim est illo aut nobilitate aut probitate aut optimarum artium studio aut innocentia aut ullo genere laudis praestantior?

II. Nullius tantum flumen est ingenii, nullius dicendi aut scribendi tanta vis, tanta copia, quae non dicam exornare, sed enarrare, C. Caesar, res tuas gestas possit. Tamen affirmo, et hoc pace dicam tua, nullam in his esse laudem ampliorem quam eam quam hodierno die consecutus es. Soleo saepe ante oculos ponere, idque libenter crebris usurpare sermonibus, omnes nostrorum imperatorum, omnes exterarum gentium potentissimorumque populorum, omnes clarissimorum regum res gestas cum tuis nec contentionum magnitudine nec numero proeliorum nec varietate regionum nec celeritate conficiendi nec dissimilitudine bellorum posse conferri; nec vero disjunctissimas terras citius passibus cujusquam potuisse peragrari, quam tuis non dicam cursibus, sed victoriis lustratae sunt.

Quae quidem ego nisi ita magna esse fatear, ut ea vix cujusquam mens aut cogitatio capere possit, amens sim; sed tamen sunt alia majora. Nam bellicas laudes solent quidam extenuare verbis easque detrahere ducibus, communicare cum multis, ne propriae sint imperatorum. Et certe in armis militum virtus, locorum opportunitas, auxilia sociorum, classes, commeatus multum juvant; maximam vero partem quasi suo jure fortuna sibi vindicat; et quid-

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quid prospere gestum est, id paene omne ducit suum. At vero hujus gloriae, C. Caesar, quam es paulo ante adeptus, socium habes neminem. Totum hoc, quantumcumque est, quod certe maximum est, totum est, inquam, tuum. Nihil sibi ex ista laude centurio, nihil praefectus, nihil cohors, nihil turma decerpit. Quin etiam illa ipsa rerum humanarum domina, Fortuna, in istius se societatem gloriae non offert, tibi cedit, tuam esse totam et propriam fatetur. Nunquam enim temeritas cum sapientia commiscetur, nec ad consilium casus admittitur.

III. Domuisti gentes immanitate barbaras, multitudine innumerabiles, locis infinitas, omni copiarum genere abundantes; sed tamen ea vicisti, quae naturam et condicionem, ut vinci possent, habebant: nulla est enim tanta vis, quae non ferro ac viribus debilitari frangique possit. Animum vincere, iracundiam cohibere, victoriam temperare, adversarium nobilitate, ingenio, virtute praestantem non modo extollere jacentem, sed etiam amplificare ejus pristinam dignitatem; haec qui faciat, non ego eum cum summis viris comparo, sed simillimum deo judico.

Itaque, C. Caesar, bellicae tuae laudes celebrabuntur illae quidem non solum nostris, sed paene omnium gentium litteris atque linguis; nec ulla unquam aetas de tuis laudibus conticescet; sed tamen ejus modi res nescio quo modo, etiam quum leguntur, obstrepi clamore militum videntur et tubarum sono. At vero quum aliquid clementer, mansuete, juste, moderate, sapienter factum, in iracundia praesertim, quae est inimica consilio, et in victoria, quae natura insolens et superba est, audimus aut legimus, quo studio incendimur, non modo in gestis rebus, sed etiam in fictis, ut eos saepe, quos nunquam vidimus, diligamus! Te vero, quem praesentem intuemur, cujus mentem sensusque et os cernimus, ut quidquid belli fortuna reliquum rei publicae fecerit, id esse salvum velis, quibus laudibus efferemus? quibus studiis prosequemur? qua benevolentia complectemur? Parietes, medius fidius, ut mihi videntur, hujus curiae tibi

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gratias agere gestiunt, quod brevi tempore futura sit illa auctoritas in his majorum suorum et suis sedibus.

IV. Equidem quum C. Marcelli, viri optimi et commemorabili pietate praediti, lacrimas modo vobiscum viderem, omnium Marcellorum meum pectus memoria obfudit; quibus tu etiam mortuis M. Marcello conservato dignitatem suam reddidisti, nobilissimamque familiam jam ad paucos redactam paene ab interitu vindicasti. Hunc tu igitur diem tuis maximis et innumerabilibus gratulationibus jure antepones. Haec enim res unius est propria Caesaris; ceterae duce te gestae magnae illae quidem, sed tamen multo magnoque comitatu. Hujus autem rei tu idem et dux es et comes; quae quidem tanta est, ut tropaeis monumentisque tuis allatura finem sit aetas—nihil est enim opere aut manu factum, quod non aliquando conficiat et consumat vetustas —at haec tua justitia et lenitas animi florescet quotidie magis, ita ut, quantum operibus tuis diuturnitas detrahet, tantum afferat laudibus. Et ceteros quidem omnes victores bellorum civilium jam ante aequitate et misericordia viceras: hodierno vero die te ipsum vicisti. Vereor ut hoc quod dicam perinde intelligi possit auditum atque ipse cogitans sentio. Ipsam victoriam vicisse videris, quum ea quae illa erat adepta victis remisisti. Nam quum ipsius victoriae condicione jure omnes victi occidissemus, clementiae tuae judicio conservati sumus. Recte igitur unus invictus es, a quo etiam ipsius victoriae condicio visque devicta est.

V. Atque hoc C. Caesaris judicium, patres conscripti, quam late pateat, attendite: omnes enim, qui ad illa arma fato sumus nescio quo rei publicae misero funestoque compulsi, etsi aliqua culpa tenemur erroris humani, a scelere certe liberati sumus. Nam quum M. Marcellum deprecantibus vobis rei publicae conservavit, me et mihi et item rei publicae nullo deprecante, reliquos amplissimos viros et sibi ipsos et patriae reddidit, quorum et frequentiam et dignitatem hoc ipso in consessu videtis, non ille hostes induxit in curiam, sed judicavit a plerisque ignoratione potius et

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falso atque inani metu quam cupiditate aut crudelitate bellum esse susceptum. Quo quidem in bello semper de pace audiendum putavi, semperque dolui non modo pacem, sed orationem etiam civium pacem flagitantium repudiari. Neque enim ego illa nec ulla unquam secutus sum arma civilia, semperque mea consilia pacis et togae socia, non belli atque armorum fuerunt. Hominem sum secutus privato officio, non publico; tantumque apud me grati animi fidelis memoria valuit, ut nulla non modo cupiditate, sed ne spe quidem prudens et sciens tamquam ad interitum ruerem voluntarium.

Quod quidem meum consilium minime obscurum fuit. Nam et in hoc ordine integra re multa de pace dixi, et in ipso bello eadem etiam cum capitis mei periculo sensi. Ex quo jam nemo erit tam injustus rerum existimator, qui dubitet quae Caesaris voluntas de bello fuerit, quum pacis auctores conservandos statim censuerit, ceteris fuerit iratior. Atque id minus mirum fortasse tum, quum esset incertus exitus et anceps fortuna belli: qui vero victor pacis auctores diligit, is profecto declarat se maluisse non dimicare quam vincere.

VI. Atque hujus quidem rei M. Marcello sum testis. Nostri enim sensus, ut in pace semper, sic tum etiam in bello congruebant. Quoties ego eum et quanto cum dolore vidi, quum insolentiam certorum hominum tum etiam ipsius victoriae ferocitatem extimescentem! Quo gratior tua liberalitas, C. Caesar, nobis, qui illa vidimus, debet esse. Non enim jam causae sunt inter se, sed victoriae comparandae. Vidimus tuam victoriam praeliorum exitu terminatam: gladium vagina vacuum in urbe non vidimus. Quos amisimus cives, eos Martis vis perculit, non ira victoriae; ut dubitare debeat nemo, quin multos, si fieri posset, C. Caesar ab inferis excitaret, quoniam ex eadem acie conservat quos potest. Alterius vero partis, nihil amplius dicam quam id quod omnes verebamur, nimis iracundam futuram fuisse victoriam. Quidam enim non modo armatis, sed in-

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terdum etiam otiosis minabantur, nec quid quisque sensisset, sed ubi fuisset, cogitandum esse dicebant; ut mihi quidem videantur dii immortales, etiam si poenas a populo Romano ob aliquod delictum expetiverunt, qui civile bellum tantum et tam luctuosum excitaverunt, vel placati jam vel satiati aliquando, omnem spem salutis ad clementiam victoris et sapientiam contulisse.

Quare gaude tuo isto tam excellenti bono, et fruere quum fortuna et gloria, tum etiam natura et moribus tuis; ex quo quidem maximus est fructus jucunditasque sapienti. Cetera quum tua recordabere, etsi persaepe virtuti, tamen plerumque felicitati tuae gratulabere. De nobis, quos in re publica tecum simul salvos esse voluisti, quoties cogitabis, toties de maximis tuis beneficiis, toties de incredibili liberalitate, toties de singulari sapientia tua cogitabis; quae non modo summa bona, sed nimirum audebo vel sola dicere. Tantus est enim splendor in laude vera, tanta in magnitudine animi et consilii dignitas, ut haec a virtute donata, cetera a fortuna commodata esse videantur. Noli igitur in conservandis bonis viris defatigari, non cupiditate praesertim aliqua aut pravitate lapsis, sed opinione officii stulta fortasse, certe non improba, et specie quadam rei publicae; non enim tua ulla culpa est, si te aliqui timuerunt, contraque summa laus, quod minime timendum fuisse senserunt.

VII. Nunc venio ad gravissimam querelam et atrocissimam suspicionem tuam, quae non tibi ipsi magis quam quum omnibus civibus, tum maxime nobis, qui a te conservati sumus, providenda est: quam etsi spero esse falsam, nunquam tamen extenuabo. Tua enim cautio nostra cautio est; ut, si in alterutro peccandum sit, malim videri nimis timidus quam parum prudens. Sed quisnam est iste tam demens? De tuisne? tametsi qui magis sunt tui quam quibus tu salutem insperantibus reddidisti? an ex eo numero qui una tecum fuerunt? Non est credibilis tantus in ullo furor, ut, quo duce omnia summa sit adeptus, hujus

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vitam non anteponat suae. An si tui nihil cogitant sceleris, cavendum est, ne quid inimici? Qui? Omnes enim, qui fuerunt, aut sua pertinacia vitam amiserunt aut tua misericordia retinuerunt, ut aut nulli supersint de inimicis, aut qui superfuerunt sint amicissimi.

Sed tamen quum in animis hominum tantae latebrae sint et tanti recessus, augeamus sane suspicionem tuam: simul enim augebimus diligentiam. Nam quis est omnium tam ignarus rerum, tam rudis in re publica, tam nihil unquam nec de sua nec de communi salute cogitans, qui non intelligat tua salute contineri suam, et ex unius tua vita pendere omnium? Equidem de te dies noctesque, ut debeo, cogitans, casus dumtaxat humanos et incertos eventus valetudinis et naturae communis fragilitatem extimesco, doleoque, quum res publica immortalis esse debeat, eam in unius mortalis anima consistere. Si vero ad humanos casus incertosque eventus valetudinis, sceleris etiam accedat insidiarumque consensio, quem deum, si cupiat, posse opitulari rei publicae credamus?

VIII. Omnia sunt excitanda tibi, C. Caesar, uni, quae jacere sentis belli ipsius impetu, quod necesse fuit, perculsa atque prostrata; constituenda judicia, revocanda fides, comprimendae libidines, propaganda suboles, omnia, quae dilapsa jam diffluxerunt, severis legibus vincienda sunt. Non fuit recusandum in tanto civili bello tantoque animorum ardore et armorum, quin quassata res publica, quicumque belli eventus fuisset, multa perderet et ornamenta dignitatis et praesidia stabilitatis suae, multaque uterque dux faceret armatus, quae idem togatus fieri prohibuisset. Quae quidem tibi nunc omnia belli vulnera sananda sunt, quibus praeter te mederi nemo potest.

Itaque illam tuam praeclarissimam et sapientissimam vocem invitus audivi: "Satis diu vel naturae vixi vel gloriae." Satis, si ita vis, fortasse naturae; addo etiam, si placet, gloriae; at, quod maximum est, patriae certe parum. Quare omitte istam, quaeso, doctorum hominum in contem-

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nenda morte prudentiam: noli nostro periculo esse sapiens. Saepe enim venit ad aures meas, te idem istud nimis crebro dicere, tibi satis te vixisse. Credo, sed tum id audirem, si tibi soli viveres aut si tibi etiam soli natus esses. Omnium salutem civium cunctamque rem publicam res tuae gestae complexae sunt; tantum abes a perfectione maximorum operum, ut fundamenta nondum quae cogitas jeceris. Hic tu modum vitae tuae non salute rei publicae, sed aequitate animi definies? Quid, si istud ne gloriae tuae quidem satis est? cujus te esse avidissimum, quamvis sis sapiens, non negabis.

Parumne igitur, inquies, gloriam magnam relinquemus? Immo vero aliis quamvis multis satis; tibi uni parum. Quidquid est enim, quamvis amplum sit, id est parum tum, quum est aliquid amplius. Quod si rerum tuarum immortalium, C. Caesar, hic exitus futurus fuit, ut devictis adversariis rem publicam in eo statu relinqueres, in quo nunc est, vide, quaeso, ne tua divina virtus admirationis plus sit habitura quam gloriae; si quidem gloria est illustris ac pervagata magnorum vel in suos vel in patriam vel in omne genus hominum fama meritorum.

IX. Haec igitur tibi reliqua pars est, hic restat actus, in hoc elaborandum est, ut rem publicam constituas, eaque tu in primis cum summa tranquillitate et otio perfruare: tum te, si voles, quum et patriae quod debes solveris et naturam ipsam expleveris satietate vivendi, satis diu vixisse dicito. Quid est enim hoc ipsum diu, in quo est aliquid extremum? quod quum venit, omnis voluptas praeterita pro nihilo est, quia postea nulla est futura. Quamquam iste tuus animus nunquam his angustiis, quas natura nobis ad vivendum dedit, contentus fuit, semper immortalitatis amore flagravit.

Nec vero haec tua vita ducenda est, quae corpore et spiritu continetur. Illa, inquam, illa vita est tua, quae vigebit memoria saeculorum omnium, quam posteritas alet, quam ipsa aeternitas semper tuebitur. Huic tu inservias, huic te ostentes oportet; quae quidem quae miretur jam

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pridem multa habet, nunc etiam quae laudet exspectat. Obstupescent posteri certe imperia, provincias, Rhenum, Oceanum, Nilum, pugnas innumerabiles, incredibiles victorias, monumenta, munera, triumphos audientes et legentes tuos. Sed nisi haec urbs stabilita tuis consiliis et institutis erit, vagabitur modo nomen tuum longe atque late, sedem stabilem et domicilium certum non habebit. Erit inter eos etiam qui nascentur, sicut inter nos fuit, magna dissensio, quum alii laudibus ad caelum res tuas gestas efferent, alii fortasse aliquid requirent, idque vel maximum, nisi belli civilis incendium salute patriae restinxeris, ut illud fati fuisse videatur, hoc consilii. Servi igitur iis etiam judicibus, qui multis post saeculis de te judicabunt, et quidem haud scio an incorruptius quam nos; nam et sine amore et sine cupiditate, et rursus sine odio et sine invidia judicabunt. Id autem etiam si tum ad te, ut quidam falso putant, non pertinebit; nunc certe pertinet esse te talem, ut tuas laudes obscuratura nulla unquam sit oblivio.

X. Diversae voluntates civium fuerunt distractaeque sententiae; non enim consiliis solum et studiis, sed armis etiam et castris dissidebamus. Erat autem obscuritas quaedam, erat certamen inter clarissimos duces: multi dubitabant quid optimum esset; multi quid sibi expediret; multi quid deceret; nonnulli etiam quid liceret. Perfuncta res publica est hoc misero fatalique bello: vicit is, qui non fortuna inflammaret odium suum, sed bonitate leniret; nec qui omnes, quibus iratus esset, eosdem etiam exsilio aut morte dignos judicaret. Arma ab aliis posita, ab aliis erepta sunt. Ingratus est injustusque civis, qui armorum periculo liberatus animum tamen retinet armatum, ut etiam ille melior sit, qui in acie cecidit, qui in causa animam profudit. Quae enim pertinacia quibusdam, eadem aliis constantia videri potest. Sed jam omnis fracta dissensio est armis, et exstincta aequitate victoris: restat ut omnes unum velint, qui modo habent aliquid non solum sapientiae, sed etiam sanitatis. Nisi te, C. Caesar, salvo et in ista sententia qua

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quum antea, tum hodie vel maxime usus es, manente, salvi esse non possumus. Quare omnes te, qui haec salva esse volumus, et hortamur et obsecramus, ut vitae tuae et saluti consulas, omnesque tibi, ut pro aliis etiam loquar quod de me ipse sentio, quoniam subesse aliquid putas quod cavendum sit, non modo excubias et custodias, sed etiam laterum nostrorum oppositus et corporum pollicemur.

XI. Sed ut, unde est orsa, in eodem terminetur oratio, maximas tibi omnes gratias agimus, C. Caesar, majores etiam habemus. Nam omnes idem sentiunt, quod ex omnium precibus et lacrimis sentire potuisti; sed quia non est omnibus stantibus necesse dicere, a me certe dici volunt, cui necesse est quodam modo; et quod fieri decet M. Marcello a te huic ordini populoque Romano et rei publicae reddito, fieri id intelligo; nam laetari omnes non de unius solum, sed de communi omnium salute sentio. Quod autem summae benevolentiae est—quae mea erga illum omnibus semper nota fuit, ut vix C. Marcello, optimo et amantissimo fratri, praeter eum quidem cederem nemini—quum id sollicitudine, cura, labore tam diu praestiterim, quam diu est de illius salute dubitatum, certe hoc tempore magnis curis, molestiis, doloribus liberatus praestare debeo. Itaque, C. Caesar, sic tibi gratias ago, ut omnibus me rebus a te non conservato solum, sed etiam ornato, tamen ad tua in me unum innumerabilia merita, quod fieri jam posse non arbitrabar, maximus hoc tuo facto cumulus accesserit.

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M. TULLII CICERONIS

PRO

QUINTO LIGARIO

ORATIO AD CAESAREM.

I. Novum crimen, C. Caesar, et ante hunc diem non auditum propinquus meus ad te Q. Tubero detulit, Q. Ligarium in Africa fuisse; idque C. Pansa, praestanti vir ingenio, fretus fortasse familiaritate ea, quae est ei tecum, ausus est confiteri: itaque quo me vertam nescio. Paratus enim veneram, quum tu id neque per te scires neque audire aliunde potuisses, ut ignoratione tua ad hominis miseri salutem abuterer. Sed quoniam diligentia inimici investigatum est quod latebat, confitendum est, ut opinor, praesertim quum meus necessarius C. Pansa fecerit ut id integrum jam non esset, omissaque controversia omnis oratio ad misericordiam tuam conferenda est, qua plurimi sunt conservati, quum a te non liberationem culpae, sed errati veniam impetravissent. Habes igitur, Tubero, quod est accusatori maxime optandum, confitentem reum, sed tamen hoc confitentem, se in ea parte fuisse, qua te, qua virum omni laude dignum, patrem tuum. Itaque prius de vestro delicto confiteamini necesse est, quam Ligarii ullam culpam reprehendatis.

Q. enim Ligarius, quum esset nulla belli suspicio, legatus in Africam cum C. Considio profectus est; qua in legatione et civibus et sociis ita se probavit, ut decedens Con-

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sidius provincia satis facere hominibus non posset, si quemquam alium provinciae praefecisset. Itaque Ligarius, quum diu recusans nihil profecisset, provinciam accepit invitus, cui sic praefuit in pace, ut et civibus et sociis gratissima esset ejus integritas ac fides. Bellum subito exarsit, quod qui erant in Africa ante audierunt geri quam parari. Quo audito partim cupiditate inconsiderata, partim caeco quodam timore, primo salutis, post etiam studii sui quaerebant aliquem ducem, quum Ligarius domum spectans, ad suos redire cupiens, nullo se implicari negotio passus est. Interim P. Attius Varus, qui praetor Africam obtinuerat, Uticam venit. Ad eum statim concursum est. Atque ille non mediocri cupiditate arripuit imperium, si illud imperium esse potuit, quod ad privatum clamore multitudinis imperitae, nullo publico consilio deferebatur. Itaque Ligarius, qui omne tale negotium cuperet effugere, paulum adventu Vari conquievit.

II. Adhuc, C. Caesar, Q. Ligarius omni culpa vacat. Domo est egressus non modo nullum ad bellum, sed ne ad minimam quidem suspicionem belli; legatus in pace profectus in provincia pacatissima ita se gessit, ut ei pacem esse expediret. Profectio certe animum tuum non debet offendere. Num igitur remansio? Multo minus; nam profectio voluntatem habuit non turpem, remansio necessitatem etiam honestam. Ergo haec duo tempora carent crimine; unum, quum est legatus profectus, alterum, quum efflagitatus a provincia praepositus Africae est. Tertium tempus est, quod post adventum Vari in Africa restitit, quod si est criminosum, necessitatis crimen est, non voluntatis. An ille, si potuisset ullo modo evadere, Uticae quam Romae, cum P. Attio quam cum concordissimis fratribus, cum alienis esse quám cum suis maluisset? Quum ipsa legatio plena desiderii ac sollicitudinis fuisset propter incredibilem quendam fratrum amorem, hic aequo animo esse potuit, belli discidio distractus a fratribus?

Nullum igitur habes, Caesar, adhuc in Q. Ligario signum

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alienae a te voluntatis: cujus ego causam animadverte, quaeso, qua fide defendam: prodo meam. O clementiam admirabilem atque omnium laude, praedicatione, litteris monumentisque decorandam! Quum M. Cicero apud te defendit, alium in ea voluntate non fuisse, in qua se ipsum confitetur fuisse, nec tuas tacitas cogitationes extimescit, nec, quid tibi de alio audienti de se ipso occurrat, reformidat.

III. Vide, quam non reformidem; vide, quanta lux liberalitatis et sapientiae tuae mihi apud te dicenti oboriatur. Quantum potero, voce contendam, ut populus hoc Romanus exaudiat: Suscepto bello, Caesar, gesto etiam ex parte magna, nulla vi coactus, judicio ac voluntate ad ea arma profectus sum, quae erant sumpta contra te. Apud quem igitur hoc dico? Nempe apud eum, qui quum hoc sciret, tamen me, antequam vidit, rei publicae reddidit; qui ad me ex Aegypto litteras misit, ut essem idem qui fuissem; qui, quum ipse imperator in toto imperio populi Romani unus esset, esse me alterum passus est; a quo, hoc ipso C. Pansa mihi nuntium perferente, concessos fasces laureatos tenui, quoad tenendos putavi; qui mihi tum denique se salutem putavit dare, si eam nullis spoliatam ornamentis dedisset.

Vide, quaeso, Tubero, ut, qui de meo facto non dubitem, de Ligarii non audeam confiteri. Atque haec propterea de me dixi, ut mihi Tubero, quum de se eadem diceret, ignosceret: cujus ego industriae gloriaeque faveo vel propter propinquam cognationem, vel quod ejus ingenio studiisque delector, vel quod laudem adolescentis propinqui existimo etiam ad meum aliquem fructum redundare. Sed hoc quaero: Quis putat esse crimen fuisse in Africa? Nempe is, qui et ipse in eadem Africa esse voluit et prohibitum se a Ligario queritur et certe contra ipsum Caesarem est congressus armatus. Quid enim tuus ille, Tubero, destrictus in acie Pharsalica gladius agebat? cujus latus ille mucro petebat? qui sensus erat armorum tuorum? quae tua

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mens, oculi, manus, ardor animi? Quid cupiebas? quid optabas? Nimis urgeo, commoveri videtur adolescens—ad me revertar. Iisdem in armis fui.

IV. Quid autem aliud egimus, Tubero, nisi ut, quod hic potest, nos possemus? Quorum igitur impunitas, Caesar, tuae clementiae laus est, eorum ipsorum ad crudelitatem te acuet oratio? Atque in hac causa nonnihil equidem, Tubero, etiam tuam, sed multo magis patris tui prudentiam desidero, quod homo quum ingenio tum etiam doctrina excellens, genus hoc causae quod esset, non viderit; nam si vidisset, quovis profecto quam isto modo a te agi maluisset.

Arguis fatentem; non est satis: accusas eum, qui causam habet aut, ut ego dico, meliorem quam tu, aut, ut tu vis, parem. Haec admirabilia, sed prodigii simile est quod dicam. Non habet eam vim ista accusatio, ut Q. Ligarius condemnetur, sed ut necetur. Hoc egit civis Romanus ante te nemo: externi isti mores, usque ad sanguinem incitari odio, aut levium Graecorum aut immanium barbarorum. Nam quid agis aliud? Romae ne sit? ut domo careat? ne cum optimis fratribus, ne cum hoc T. Broccho avunculo, ne cum ejus filio, consobrino suo, ne nobiscum vivat? ne sit in patria? Num est? num potest magis carere his omnibus quam caret? Italia prohibetur, exsulat. Non tu ergo hunc patria privare, qua caret, sed vita vis. At istud ne apud eum quidem dictatorem, qui omnes quos oderat morte multabat, quisquam egit isto modo. Ipse jubebat occidi nullo postulante, praemiis etiam invitabat; quae tamen crudelitas ab hoc eodem aliquot annis post, quem tu nunc crudelem esse vis, vindicata est.

V. Ego vero istud non postulo, inquies. Ita mehercule existimo, Tubero; novi enim te, novi patrem, novi domum nomenque vestrum; studia generis ac familiae vestrae virtutis, humanitatis, doctrinae, plurimarum artium atque optimarum nota mihi sunt omnia. Itaque certo scio vos non petere sanguinem, sed parum attenditis; res enim eo spectat, ut ea poena, in qua adhuc Q. Ligarius est, non

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videamini esse contenti. Quae est igitur alia praeter mortem? Si enim est in exsilio, sicuti est, quid amplius postulatis? An ne ignoscatur? Hoc vero multo acerbius multoque est durius. Quod nos petimus precibus, lacrimis, strati ad pedes, non tam nostrae causae fidentes quam hujus humanitati, id ne impetremus oppugnabis et in nostrum fletum irrumpes et nos jacentes ad pedes supplicum voce prohibebis? Si, quum hoc domi faceremus, quod et fecimus et, ut spero, non frustra fecimus, tu repente irruisses et clamare coepisses: "Caesar, cave ignoscas, cave te fratrum pro fratris salute obsecrantium misereat," nonne omnem humanitatem exuisses? Quanto hoc durius, quod nos domi petimus, id te in foro oppugnare et in tali miseria multorum perfugium misericordiae tollere!

Dicam plane, Caesar, quod sentio. Si in hac tanta tua fortuna lenitas tanta non esset, quam tu per te, per te, inquam, obtines—intelligo quid loquar—acerbissimo luctu redundaret ista victoria. Quam multi enim essent de victoribus, qui te crudelem esse vellent, quum etiam de victis reperiantur! quam multi, qui quum a te ignosci nemini vellent, impedirent clementiam tuam, quum etiam hi, quibus ipse ignovisti, nolint te esse in alios misericordem! Quod si probare Caesari possemus, in Africa Ligarium omnino non fuisse, si honesto et misericordi mendacio saluti civi calamitoso esse vellemus, tamen hominis non esset in tanto discrimine et periculo civis refellere et redarguere nostrum mendacium, et, si esset alicujus, ejus certe non esset, qui in eadem causa et fortuna fuisset. Sed tamen aliud est errare Caesarem nolle, aliud nolle misereri. Tunc diceres: "Caesar, cave credas; fuit in Africa, tulit arma contra te." Nunc quid dicis? "Cave ignoscas." Haec nec hominis nec ad hominem vox est, qua qui apud te, C. Caesar, utitur, suam citius abjiciet humanitatem quam extorquebit tuam.

VI. Ac primus aditus et postulatio Tuberonis haec, ut opinor, fuit, velle se de Q. Ligarii scelere dicere. Non dubito quin admiratus sis, vel quod de nullo alio, vel quod is,

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qui in eadem causa fuisset, vel quidnam novi afferret. Scelus tu illud vocas, Tubero? Cur? Isto enim nomine illa adhuc causa caruit. Alii errorem appellant, alii timorem; qui durius, spem, cupiditatem, odium, pertinaciam; qui gravissime, temeritatem; scelus praeter te adhuc nemo. Ac mihi quidem, si proprium et verum nomen nostri mali quaeritur, fatalis quaedam calamitas incidisse videtur et improvidas hominum mentes occupavisse, ut nemo mirari debeat humana consilia divina necessitate esse superata. Liceat esse miseros; quamquam hoc victore esse non possumus, sed non loquor de nobis, de illis loquor, qui occiderunt. Fuerint cupidi, fuerint irati, fuerint pertinaces, sceleris vero crimine, furoris, parricidii liceat Cn. Pompeio mortuo, liceat multis aliis carere. Quando hoc quisquam ex te, Caesar, audivit, aut tua quid aliud arma voluerunt nisi a te contumeliam propulsare? Quid egit tuus invictus exercitus, nisi ut suum jus tueretur et dignitatem tuam? Quid? tu quum pacem esse cupiebas, idne agebas ut tibi cum sceleratis, an ut cum bonis civibus conveniret?

Mihi vero, Caesar, tua in me maxima merita tanta certe non viderentur, si me ut sceleratum a te conservatum putarem. Quo modo autem tu de re publica bene meritus esses, quum tot sceleratos incolumi dignitate esse voluisses? Secessionem tu illam existimavisti, Caesar, initio, non bellum, neque hostile odium, sed civile discidium, utrisque cupientibus rem publicam salvam, sed partim consiliis, partim studiis a communi utilitate aberrantibus. Principum dignitas erat paene par, non par fortasse eorum, qui sequebantur; causa tum dubia, quod erat aliquid in utraque parte, quod probari posset; nunc melior ea judicanda est, quam etiam dii adjuverunt. Cognita vero clementia tua quis non eam victoriam probet, in qua occiderit nemo nisi armatus?

VII. Sed, ut omittam communem causam, veniamus ad nostram. Utrum tandem existimas facilius fuisse, Tubero, Ligarium ex Africa exire an vos in Africam non venire? "Poteramusne," inquies, "quum senatus censuisset?" Si

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me consulis, nullo modo; sed tamen Ligarium senatus idem legaverat. Atque ille eo tempore paruit, quum parere senatui necesse erat: vos tunc paruistis, quum paruit nemo qui noluit. Reprehendo igitur? Minime vero; neque enim licuit aliter vestro generi, nomini, familiae, disciplinae. Sed hoc non concedo, ut, quibus rebus gloriemini in vobis, easdem in aliis reprehendatis. Tuberonis sors conjecta est ex senatus consulto, quum ipse non adesset, morbo etiam impediretur; statuerat excusare. Haec ego novi propter omnes necessitudines, quae mihi sunt cum L. Tuberone: domi una eruditi, militiae contubernales, post affines, in omni denique vita familiares; magnum etiam vinculum, quod iisdem studiis semper usi sumus. Scio igitur Tuberonem domi manere voluisse; sed ita quidam agebat, ita rei publicae sanctissimum nomen opponebat, ut, etiam si aliter sentiret, verborum tamen ipsorum pondus sustinere non posset. Cessit auctoritati amplissimi viri vel potius paruit. Una est profectus cum iis, quorum erat una causa. Tardius iter fecit, itaque in Africam venit jam occupatam. Hinc in Ligarium crimen oritur vel ira potius. Nam si crimen est voluisse, non minus magnum est, vos Africam, arcem omnium provinciarum, natam ad bellum contra hanc urbem gerendum, obtinere voluisse quam aliquem se maluisse. Atque is tamen aliquis Ligarius non fuit. Varus imperium se habere dicebat; fasces certe habebat. Sed quoquo modo illud se habet, haec querela vestra quid valet? "Recepti in provinciam non sumus." Quid, si essetis? Caesarine eam traditurі fuistis an contra Caesarem retenturi?

VIII. Vide, quid licentiae, Caesar, nobis tua liberalitas det vel potius audaciae. Si responderit Tubero, Africam, quo senatus eum sorsque miserat, tibi patrem suum traditurum fuisse, non dubitabo apud ipsum te, cujus id eum facere interfuit, gravissimis verbis ejus consilium reprehendere. Non enim, si tibi ea res grata fuisset, esset etiam probata. Sed jam hoc totum omitto, non tam ne offendam

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tuas patientissimas aures, quam ne Tubero, quod nunquam cogitavit, facturus fuisse videatur. Veniebatis igitur in Africam, provinciam unam ex omnibus huic victoriae maxime infestam, in qua erat rex potentissimus inimicus huic causae, aliena voluntas conventus firmi atque magni. Quaero: Quid facturi fuistis? Quamquam, quid facturi fueritis, dubitem, quum videam, quid feceritis? Prohibiti estis in provincia vestra pedem ponere, et prohibiti summa cum injuria. Quo modo id tulistis? acceptae injuriae querelam ad quem detulistis? Nempe ad eum, cujus auctoritatem secuti in societatem belli veneratis. Quod si Caesaris causa in provinciam veniebatis, ad eum profecto exclusi provincia venissetis. Venistis ad Pompeium. Quae est ergo apud Caesarem querela, quum eum accusetis, a quo queramini prohibitos esse vos contra Caesarem gerere bellum? Atque in hoc quidem vel cum mendacio, si vultis, gloriemini per me licet, vos provinciam fuisse Caesari traditurus. Etiam si a Varo et a quibusdam aliis prohibiti estis, ego tamen confitebor culpam esse Ligarii, qui vos tantae laudis occasione privaverit.

IX. Sed vide, quaeso, Caesar, constantiam ornatissimi viri, Tuberonis, quam ego, quamvis ipse probarem, ut probo, tamen non commemorarem, nisi a te cognovissem in primis eam virtutem solere laudari. Quae fuit igitur unquam in ullo homine tanta constantia? Constantiam dico? nescio an melius patientiam possim dicere. Quotus enim istud quisque fecisset, ut, a quibus partibus in dissensione civili non esset receptus, esset etiam cum crudelitate rejectus, ad eos ipsos rediret? Magni cujusdam animi atque ejus viri est, quem de suscepta causa propositaque sententia nulla contumelia, nulla vis, nullum periculum possit depellere. Ut enim cetera paria Tuberoni cum Varo fuissent, honos, nobilitas, splendor, ingenium, quae nequaquam fuerunt, hoc certe praecipuum Tuberonis fuit, quod justo cum imperio ex senatus consulto in provinciam suam venerat. Hinc prohibitus non ad Caesarem, ne iratus, non domum, ne

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iners, non in aliquam regionem, ne condemnare causam illam, quam secutus erat, videretur: in Macedoniam ad Cn. Pompeii castra venit, in eam ipsam causam, a qua erat rejectus injuria. Quid? quum ista res nihil commovisset ejus animum, ad quem veneratis, languidiore, credo, studio in causa fuistis; tantummodo in praesidiis eratis, animi vero a causa abhorrebant: an, ut fit in civilibus bellis—nec in vobis magis quam in reliquis, omnes enim vincendi studio tenebamur. Pacis equidem semper auctor fui, sed tum sero; erat enim amentis, quum aciem videres, pacem cogitare.—Omnes, inquam, vincere volebamus, tu certe praecipue, qui in eum locum veneras, ubi tibi esset pereundum, nisi vicisses. Quamquam, ut nunc se res habet, non dubito quin hanc salutem anteponas illi victoriae.

X. Haec ego non dicerem, Tubero, si aut vos constantiae vestrae aut Caesarem beneficii sui paeniteret. Nunc quaero, utrum vestras injurias an rei publicae persequamini. Si rei publicae, quid de vestra in illa causa perseverantia respondebitis? Si vestras, videte ne erretis, qui Caesarem vestris inimicis iratum fore putetis, quum ignoverit suis.

Itaque num tibi videor in causa Ligarii esse occupatus? num de ejus facto dicere? Quidquid dixi, ad unam summam referri volo vel humanitatis vel clementiae vel misericordiae. Causas, Caesar, egi multas equidem tecum, dum te in foro tenuit ratio honorum tuorum, certe nunquam hoc modo: "Ignoscite, judices: erravit, lapsus est, non putavit; si unquam posthac." Ad parentem sic agi solet, ad judices: "Non fecit, non cogitavit; falsi testes, fictum crimen." Dic te, Caesar, de facto Ligarii judicem esse; quibus in praesidiis fuerit, quaere: taceo, ne haec quidem colligo, quae fortasse valerent etiam apud judicem: "Legatus ante bellum profectus, relictus in pace, bello oppressus, in eo ipso non acerbus, jam est totus animo ac studio tuus." Ad judicem sic agi solet, sed ego apud parentem loquor: "Erravit, temere fecit, paenitet; ad clementiam tuam confugio, delicti veniam peto, ut ignoscatur oro." Si nemo

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impetravit, arroganter; si plurimi, tu idem fer opem, qui spem dedisti. An sperandi Ligario causa non sit, quum mihi apud te locus sit etiam pro altero deprecandi? Quamquam nec in hac oratione spes est posita causae nec in eorum studiis, qui a te pro Ligario petunt, tui necessarii.

XI. Vidi enim et cognovi, quid maxime spectares, quum pro alicujus salute multi laborarent: causas apud te rogantium gratiosiores esse quam vultus, neque te spectare, quam tuus esset necessarius is, qui te oraret, sed quam illius, pro quo laboraret. Itaque tribuis tu quidem tuis ita multa, ut mihi beatiores illi videantur interdum, qui tua liberalitate fruuntur, quam tu ipse, qui illis tam multa concedas; sed video tamen apud te causas, ut dixi, valere plus quam preces, ab iisque te moveri maxime, quorum justissimum videas dolorem in petendo.

In Q. Ligario conservando multis tu quidem gratum facies necessariis tuis, sed hoc, quaeso, considera, quod soles. Possum fortissimos viros, Sabinos, tibi probatissimos, totumque agrum Sabinum, florem Italiae ac robur rei publicae, proponere; nosti optimos homines. Animadverte horum omnium maestitiam et dolorem: hujus T. Brocchi, de quo non dubito quid existimes, lacrimas squaloremque ipsius et filii vides. Quid de fratribus dicam? Noli, Caesar, putare de unius capite nos agere: aut tres tibi Ligarii retinendi in civitate sunt aut tres ex civitate exterminandi. Nam quodvis exsilium his est optatius quam patria, quam domus, quam dii penates, uno illo exsulante. Si fraterne, si pie, si cum dolore faciunt, moveant te horum lacrimae, moveat pietas, moveat germanitas; valeat tua vox illa, quae vicit. Te enim dicere audiebamus, nos omnes adversarios putare, nisi qui nobiscum essent, te omnes, qui contra te non essent, tuos. Videsne igitur hunc splendorem omnium, hanc Brocchorum domum, hunc L. Marcium, C. Caesetium, L. Corfidium, hos omnes equites Romanos, qui adsunt veste mutata, non solum notos tibi, verum etiam probatos viros, qui tecum fuerunt? Atque his irascebamur, hos require-

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bamus, his nonnulli etiam minabantur. Conserva igitur tuis suos, ut, quem ad modum cetera, quae dicta sunt a te, sic hoc verissimum reperiatur.

XII. Quod si penitus perspicere posses concordiam Ligariorum, omnes fratres tecum judicares fuisse. An potest quisquam dubitare quin, si Q. Ligarius in Italia esse potuisset, in eadem sententia fuerit futurus, in qua fratres fuerunt? Quis est qui horum consensum conspirantem et paene conflatum in hac prope aequalitate fraterna noverit, qui hoc non sentiat, quidvis prius futurum fuisse, quam ut hi fratres diversas sententias fortunasque sequerentur? Voluntate igitur omnes tecum fuerunt, tempestate abreptus est unus: qui si consilio id fecisset, esset eorum similis, quos tu tamen salvos esse voluisti. Sed ierit ad bellum, dissenserit non a te solum, verum etiam a fratribus: hi te orant tui. Equidem, quum tuis omnibus negotiis interessem, memoria teneo, qualis T. Ligarius quaestor urbanus fuerit erga te et dignitatem tuam. Sed parum est me hoc meminisse; spero etiam te, qui oblivisci nihil soles nisi injurias, quoniam hoc est animi, quoniam etiam ingenii tui, te aliquid de hujus illo quaestorio officio, etiam de aliis quibusdam quaestoribus reminiscentem, recordari. Hic igitur T. Ligarius, qui tum nihil egit aliud—neque enim haec divinabat—nisi ut tui eum studiosum et bonum virum judicares, nunc a te supplex fratris salutem petit. Quam hujus admonitus officio quum utrisque his dederis, tres fratres optimos et integerrimos non solum sibi ipsos neque his tot ac talibus viris neque nobis necessariis suis, sed etiam rei publicae condonaveris.

Fac igitur, quod de homine nobilissimo et clarissimo fecisti nuper in curia, nunc idem in foro de optimis et huic omni frequentiae probatissimis fratribus. Ut concessisti illum senatui, sic da hunc populo, cujus voluntatem carissimam semper habuisti, et, si ille dies tibi gloriosissimus, populo Romano gratissimus fuit, noli, obsecro, dubitare, C. Caesar, similem illi gloriae laudem quam saepissime

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quaerere. Nihil est tam populare quam bonitas, nulla de virtutibus tuis plurimis nec admirabilior nec gratior misericordia est. Homines enim ad deos nulla re propius accedunt quam salutem hominibus dando. Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus, quam ut possis, nec natura melius, quam ut velis servare quam plurimos. Longiorem orationem causa forsitan postularit, tua certe natura breviorem. Quare, quum utilius esse arbitrer te ipsum quam me aut quemquam loqui tecum, finem jam faciam: tantum te admonebo, si illi absenti salutem dederis, praesentibus his omnibus daturum.

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M. TULLII CICERONIS

PRO

REGE DEIOTARO

ORATIO AD CAESAREM.

I. QUUM in omnibus causis gravioribus, C. Caesar, initio dicendi commoveri soleam vehementius, quam videtur vel usus vel aetas mea postulare, tum in hac causa ita me multa perturbant, ut, quantum mea fides studii mihi afferat ad salutem regis Deiotari defendendam, tantum facultatis timor detrahat. Primum dico pro capite fortunisque regis, quod ipsum etsi non iniquum est in tuo dumtaxat periculo, tamen est ita inusitatum regem reum capitis esse, ut ante hoc tempus non sit auditum. Deinde eum regem, quem ornare antea cuncto cum senatu solebam pro perpetuis ejus in nostram rem publicam meritis, nunc contra atrocissimum crimen cogor defendere. Accedit ut accusatorum alterius crudelitate, alterius indignitate conturber. Crudelem Castorem, ne dicam sceleratum et impium, qui nepos avum in capitis discrimen adduxerit adolescentiaeque suae terrorem intulerit ei, cujus senectutem tueri et tegere debebat, commendationemque ineuntis aetatis ab impietate et scelere duxerit; avi servum corruptum praemiis ad accusandum dominum impulerit, a legatorum pedibus abduxerit. Fugitivi autem dominum accusantis, et dominum absentem et dominum amicissimum nostrae rei publicae, quum os vide

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bam, quum verba audiebam, non tam afflictam regiam condicionem dolebam quam de fortunis communibus extimescebam. Nam quum more majorum de servo in dominum ne tormentis quidem quaeri liceat, in qua quaestione dolor elicere veram vocem possit etiam ab invito, exortus est servus, qui, quem in eculeo appellare non posset, eum accuset solutus.

II. Perturbat me, C. Caesar, etiam illud interdum, quod tamen, quum te penitus recognovi, timere desino; re enim iniquum est, sed tua sapientia fit aequissimum. Nam dicere apud eum de facinore, contra cujus vitam consilium facinoris inisse arguare, quum per se ipsum consideres, grave est; nemo enim fere est, qui sui periculi judex non sibi se aequiorem quam reo praebeat: sed tua, Caesar, praestans singularisque natura hunc mihi metum minuit. Non enim tam timeo, quid tu de rege Deiotaro, quam intelligo, quid de te ceteros velis judicare. Moveor etiam loci ipsius insolentia, quod tantam causam, quanta nulla unquam in disceptatione versata est, dico intra domesticos parietes, dico extra conventum et eam frequentiam, in qua oratorum studia niti solent: in tuis oculis, in tuo ore vultuque acquiesco, te unum intueor, ad te unum omnis mea spectat oratio: quae mihi ad spem obtinendae veritatis gravissima sunt, ad motum animi et ad omnem impetum dicendi contentionemque leviora.

Hanc enim causam, C. Caesar, si in foro dicerem, eodem audiente et disceptante te, quantam mihi alacritatem populi Romani concursus afferret! Quis enim civis ei regi non faveret, cujus omnem aetatem in populi Romani bellis consumptam esse meminisset? Spectarem curiam, intuerer forum, caelum denique testarer ipsum. Sic, quum et deorum immortalium et populi Romani et senatus beneficia in regem Deiotarum recordarer, nullo modo mihi deesse posset oratio. Quae quoniam angustiora parietes faciunt actioque maximae causae debilitatur loco, tuum est, Caesar, qui pro multis saepe dixisti, quid mihi nunc animi sit, ad te ipsum

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referre, quo facilius quum aequitas tua, tum audiendi diligentia minuat hanc perturbationem meam.

Sed antequam de accusatione ipsa dico, de accusatorum spe pauca dicam: qui quum videantur nec ingenio nec usu atque exercitatione rerum valere, tamen ad hanc causam non sine aliqua spe et cogitatione venerunt.

III. Iratum te regi Deiotaro fuisse non erant nescii; affectum illum quibusdam incommodis et detrimentis propter offensionem animi tui meminerant; teque quum huic iratum, tum sibi amicum esse cognoverant; quumque apud ipsum te de tuo periculo dicerent, fore putabant ut in exulcerato animo facile fictum crimen insideret. Quam ob rem hoc nos primum metu, Caesar, per fidem et constantiam et clementiam tuam libera, ne residere in te ullam partem iracundiae suspicemur. Per dexteram istam te oro, quam regi Deiotaro hospes hospiti porrexisti, istam, inquam, dexteram, non tam in bellis neque in proeliis quam in promissis et fide firmiorem. Tu illius domum inire, tu vetus hospitium renovare voluisti; te ejus dii penates acceperunt, te amicum et placatum Deiotari regis arae focique viderunt.

Quum facile orari, Caesar, tum semel exorari soles. Nemo unquam te placavit inimicus, qui ullas resedisse in te simultatis reliquias senserit. Quamquam cui sunt inauditae cum Deiotaro querelae tuae? Nunquam tu illum accusavisti ut hostem, sed ut amicum officio parum functum, quod propensior in Cn. Pompeii amicitiam fuisset quam in tuam; cui tamen ipsi rei veniam te daturum fuisse dicebas, si tum auxilia Pompeio vel si etiam filium misisset, ipse aetatis excusatione usus esset. Ita quum maximis eum rebus liberares, perparvam amicitiae culpam relinquebas. Itaque non solum in eum non animadvertisti, sed omni metu liberavisti, hospitem agnovisti, regem reliquisti. Neque enim ille odio tui progressus, sed errore communi lapsus est. Is rex, quem senatus hoc nomine saepe honorificentissimis decretis appellavisset quique illum ordinem ab adolescentia gravissimum sanctissimumque duxisset, iisdem rebus

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est perturbatus, homo longinquus et alienigena, quibus nos in media re publica nati semperque versati.

IV. Quum audiret senatus consentientis auctoritate arma sumpta, consulibus, praetoribus, tribunis plebis, nobis imperatoribus rem publicam defendendam datam, movebatur animo, et vir huic imperio amicissimus de salute populi Romani extimescebat, in qua etiam suam esse inclusam videbat. In summo tamen timore quiescendum sibi esse arbitrabatur. Maxime vero perturbatus est, ut audivit consules ex Italia profugisse omnesque consulares—sic enim ei nuntiabatur—cunctum senatum, totam Italiam esse effusam; talibus enim nuntiis et rumoribus patebat ad orientem via nec ulli veri subsequebantur. Nihil ille de condicionibus tuis, nihil de studio concordiae et pacis, nihil de conspiratione audiebat certorum hominum contra dignitatem tuam. Quae quum ita essent, tamen usque eo se tenuit, quoad a Cn. Pompeio ad eum legati litteraeque venerunt.

Ignosce, ignosce, Caesar, si ejus viri auctoritati rex Deiotarus cessit, quem nos omnes secuti sumus; in quem quum dii atque homines omnia ornamenta congessissent, tum tu ipse plurima et maxima. Neque enim, si tuae res gestae ceterorum laudibus obscuritatem attulerunt, idcirco Cn. Pompeii memoriam amisimus. Quantum nomen ejus fuerit, quantae opes, quanta in omni genere bellorum gloria, quanti honores populi Romani, quanti senatus, quanti tui, quis ignorat? Tanto ille superiores vicerat gloria, quanto tu omnibus praestitisti. Itaque Cn. Pompeii bella, victorias, triumphos, consulatus admirantes numerabamus, tuos enumerare non possumus.

V. Ad eum igitur rex Deiotarus venit hoc misero fatalique bello, quem antea justis hostilibusque bellis adjuverat, quocum erat non hospitio solum, verum etiam familiaritate conjunctus, et venit vel rogatus ut amicus, vel arcessitus ut socius, vel evocatus ut is, qui senatui parere didicisset; postremo venit ut ad fugientem, non ut ad insequentem, id est ad periculi, non ad victoriae societatem. Itaque Phar-

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salico proelio facto a Pompeio discessit, spem infinitam persequi noluit; vel officio, si quid debuerat, vel errori, si quid nescierat, satis factum esse duxit: domum se contulit teque Alexandrinum bellum gerente utilitatibus tuis paruit. Ille exercitum Cn. Domitii, amplissimi viri, suis tectis et copiis sustentavit; ille Ephesum ad eum, quem tu ex tuis fidelissimum et probatissimum omnibus delegisti, pecuniam misit; ille iterum, ille tertio auctionibus factis pecuniam dedit, qua ad bellum uterere; ille corpus suum periculo objecit tecumque in acie contra Pharnacem fuit tuumque hostem esse duxit suum. Quae quidem a te in eam partem accepta sunt, Caesar, ut eum amplissimo regis honore et nomine affeceris.

Is igitur, non modo a te periculo liberatus, sed etiam honore amplissimo ornatus, arguitur domi te suae interficere voluisse: quod tu, nisi eum furiosissimum judicas, profecto suspicari non potes. Ut enim omittam, cujus tanti sceleris fuerit in conspectu deorum penatium necare hospitem, cujus tantae importunitatis omnium gentium atque omnis memoriae clarissimum lumen exstinguere, cujus tantae ferocitatis victorem orbis terrarum non extimescere, cujus tam inhumani et ingrati animi, a quo rex appellatus esset, in eo tyrannum inveniri: ut haec omittam, cujus tanti furoris fuit omnes reges, quorum multi erant finitimi, omnes liberos populos, omnes socios, omnes provincias, omnia denique omnium arma contra se unum excitare! Quonam ille modo cum regno, cum domo, cum conjuge, cum carissimo filio distractus esset, tanto scelere non modo perfecto, sed etiam cogitato!

VI. At, credo, haec homo inconsultus et temerarius non videbat. Quis consideratior illo? quis tectior? quis prudentior? Quamquam hoc loco Deiotarum non tam ingenio et prudentia quam fide et religione vitae defendendum puto. Nota tibi est hominis probitas, C. Caesar, noti mores, nota constantia. Cui porro, qui modo populi Romani nomen audivit, Deiotari integritas, gravitas, virtus, fides non au-

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dita est? Quod igitur facinus nec in hominem imprudentem caderet propter metum praesentis exitii, nec in facinorosum, nisi esset idem amentissimus, id vos et a viro optimo et ab homine minime stulto cogitatum esse confingitis? At quam non modo non credibiliter, sed ne suspiciose quidem! "Quum," inquit, "in castellum Peium venisses et domum regis, hospitis tui, devertisses, locus erat quidam, in quo erant ea composita, quibus te rex munerare constituerat. Huc te e balneo, priusquam accumberes, ducere volebat; erant enim armati, qui te interficerent, in eo ipso loco collocati." En crimen, en causa, cur regem fugitivus, dominum servus accuset! Ego mehercules, Caesar, initio, quum est ad me ista causa delata, Phidippum medicum, servum regium, qui cum legatis missus esset, ab isto adolescente esse corruptum, hac sum suspicione percussus: "Medicum indicem subornavit; finget videlicet aliquod crimen veneni." Etsi a veritate longe, tamen a consuetudine criminandi non multum res abhorrebat.

Quid ait medicus? Nihil de veneno. At id fieri potuit primum occultius in potione, in cibo; deinde etiam impunius fit, quod quum est factum, negari potest. Si palam te interemisset, omnium in se gentium non solum odia, sed etiam arma convertisset; si veneno, Jovis ille quidem hospitalis numen nunquam celare potuisset, homines fortasse celasset. Quod igitur et conari occultius et efficere cautius potuit, id tibi, et medico callido et servo, ut putabat, fideli, non credidit; de armis, de ferro, de insidiis celare te noluit? At quam festive crimen contexitur! "Tua te," inquit, "eadem quae semper fortuna servavit: negavisti tum te inspicere velle."

VII. Quid postea? An Deiotarus re illo tempore non perfecta continuo dimisit exercitum? Nullus erat alius insidiandi locus? At eodem te, quum cenavisses, redituram dixeras, itaque fecisti. Horam unam aut duas eodem loco armatos, ut collocati fuerant, retinere magnum fuit? Quum in convivio comiter et jucunde fuisses, tum illuc isti,

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ut dixeras. Quo in loco Deiotarum talem erga te cognovisti, qualis rex Attalus in P. Africanum fuit, cui magnificentissima dona, ut scriptum legimus, usque ad Numantiam misit ex Asia, quae Africanus inspectante exercitu accepit. Quod quum praesens Deiotarus regio et animo et more fecisset, tu in cubiculum discessisti.

Obsecro, Caesar, repete illius temporis memoriam, pone illum ante oculos diem, vultus hominum te intuentium atque admirantium recordare. Num quae trepidatio? num qui tumultus? num quid nisi moderate, nisi quiete, nisi ex hominis gravissimi et sanctissimi disciplina? Quid igitur causae excogitari potest, cur te lotum voluerit, cenatum noluerit occidere? "In posterum," inquit, "diem distulit, ut, quum in castellum Blucium ventum esset, ibi cogitata perficeret." Non video causam mutandi loci, sed tamen acta res criminose est. "Quum," inquit, "vomere post cenam te velle dixisses, in balneum te ducere coeperunt; ibi enim erant insidiae. At te illa tua fortuna servavit: in cubiculo malle dixisti." Dii te perduint, fugitive! ita non modo nequam et improbus, sed etiam fatuus et amens es. Quid? ille signa aënea in insidiis posuerat, quae e balneo in cubiculum transferri non possent?

Habes crimina insidiarum; nihil enim dixit amplius. "Horum," inquit, "eram conscius." Quid tum? Ita ille demens erat, ut eum, quem conscium tanti sceleris haberet, a se dimitteret? Romam etiam mitteret, ubi et inimicissimum sciret esse nepotem suum et C. Caesarem, cui fecisset insidias, praesertim quum is unus esset, qui posset de absente se indicare? "Et fratres meos," inquit, "quod erant conscii, in vincula conjecit." Quum igitur eos vinciret, quos secum habebat, te solutum Romam mittebat, qui eadem scires, quae illos scire dicis?

VIII. Reliqua pars accusationis duplex fuit: una, regem in speculis fuisse semper, quum a te animo esset alieno, altera, exercitum eum contra te magnum comparasse. De exercitu dicam breviter, ut cetera. Nunquam eas copias

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rex Deiotarus habuit, quibus inferre bellum populo Romano posset, sed quibus fines suos ab excursionibus et latrociniis tueretur et imperatoribus nostris auxilia mitteret. Atque antea quidem majores copias alere poterat, nunc exiguas vix tueri potest. At misit ad Caecilium nescio quem, sed eos, quos misit, quod ire noluerunt, in vincula conjecit. Non quaero, quam veri simile sit aut non habuisse regem quos mitteret, aut eos, quos misisset, non paruisse, aut, qui dicto audientes in tanta re non fuissent, eos vinctos potius quam necatos. Sed tamen quum ad Caecilium mittebat, utrum causam illam victam esse nesciebat an Caecilium istum magnum hominem putabat? quem profecto is, qui optime nostros homines novit, vel quia non nosset, vel si nosset, contemneret. Addit etiam illud, equites non optimos misisse. Credo, Caesar, nihil ad tuum equitatum, sed misit ex iis, quos habuit, electos. Ait nescio quem ex eo numero servum judicatum. Non arbitror, non audivi; sed in eo, etiam si accidisset, culpam regis nullam fuisse arbitrarer.

IX. Alieno autem a te animo quo modo fuit? Speravit, credo, difficiles tibi Alexandriae fore exitus propter regionum naturam et fluminis. At eo tempore ipso pecuniam dedit, exercitum aluit, ei, quem Asiae praefeceras, in nulla re defuit: tibi victori non solum ad hospitium, sed ad periculum etiam atque ad aciem praesto fuit. Secutum est bellum Africanum: graves de te rumores, qui etiam furiosum illum Caecilium excitaverunt. Quo tum rex animo fuit? qui auctionatus sit seseque spoliare maluerit quam tibi pecuniam non subministrare. At eo, inquit, tempore ipso Nicaeam Ephesumque mittebat, qui rumores Africanos exciperent et celeriter ad se referrent. Itaque quum esset ei nuntiatum Domitium naufragio perisse, te in castello circumsederi, de Domitio dixit versum Graecum eadem sententia, qua nos habemus Latinum:

"Pereant amici, dum inimici una intercidant:"

quod ille, si esset tibi inimicissimus, nunquam tamen dixis-

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set; ipse enim mansuetus, versus immanis. Qui autem Domitio poterat esse amicus, qui tibi esset inimicus? Tibi porro inimicus cur esset, a quo quum vel interfici belli lege potuisset, regem et se et filium suum constitutos esse meminisset?

Quid deinde? Furcifer quo progeditur? Ait hac laetitia Deiotarum elatum vino se obruisse in convivioque nudum saltavisse. Quae crux huic fugitivo potest satis supplicii afferre? Deiotarum saltantem quisquam aut ebrium vidit unquam? Omnes in illo sunt regiae virtutes, quod te, Caesar, ignorare non arbitror, sed praecipue singularis et admiranda frugalitas; etsi hoc verbo scio laudari regem non solere. Frugi hominem dici non multum habet laudis in rege: fortem, justum, severum, gravem, magnanimum, largum, beneficum, liberalem, hae sunt regiae laudes, illa privata est. Ut volet quisque, accipiat; ego tamen frugalitatem, id est modestiam et temperantiam, virtutem maximam judico. Haec in illo est ab ineunte aetate quum a cuncta Asia, quum a magistratibus legatisque nostris, tum ab equitibus Romanis, qui in Asia negotiati sunt, perspecta et cognita. Multis ille quidem gradibus officiorum erga rem publicam nostram ad hoc regium nomen ascendit; sed tamen quidquid a bellis populi Romani vacabat, cum hominibus nostris consuetudines, amicitias, res rationesque junge-bat, ut non solum tetrarches nobilis, sed etiam optimus pater familias et diligentissimus agricola et pecuarius haberetur. Qui igitur adolescens, nondum tanta gloria praeditus, nihil unquam nisi severissime et gravissime fecerit, is ea existimatione eaque aetate saltavit?

X. Imitari, Castor, potius avi mores disciplinamque debebas quam optimo et clarissimo viro fugitivi ore male dicere. Quod si saltatorem avum habuisses neque eum virum, unde pudoris pudicitiaeque exempla peterentur, tamen hoc maledictum minime in illam aetatem conveniret. Quibus ille studiis ab ineunte aetate se imbuerat, non saltandi, sed bene ut armis, optime ut equis uteretur, ea tamen illum

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cuncta jam exacta aetate defecerant. Itaque Deiotarum quum plures in equum sustulissent, quod haerere in eo senex posset, admirari solebamus. Hic vero adolescens, qui meus in Cilicia miles, in Graecia commilito fuit, quum in illo nostro exercitu equitaret cum suis delectis equitibus, quos una cum eo ad Pompeium pater miserat, quos concursus facere solebat, quam se jactare, quam ostentare, quam nemini in illa causa studio et cupiditate concedere! Quum vero exercitu amisso ego, qui pacis semper auctor fui, post Pharsalicum proelium suasor fuissem armorum non deponendorum, sed abjiciendorum, hunc ad meam auctoritatem non potui adducere, quod et ipse ardebat studio illius belli et patri satis faciendum esse arbitrabatur. Felix ista domus, quae non impunitatem solum adepta sit, sed accusandi etiam licentiam: calamitosus Deiotarus, qui quod in iisdem castris fuerit, non modo apud te, sed etiam a suis accusetur! Vos vestra secunda fortuna, Castor, non potestis sine propinquorum calamitate esse contenti?

XI. Sint sane inimicitiae, quae esse non debebant—rex enim Deiotarus vestram familiam abjectam et obscuram e tenebris in lucem evocavit: quis tuum patrem antea, quis esset, quam cujus gener esset, audivit?—sed quamvis ingrate et impie necessitudinis nomen repudiaretis, tamen inimicitias hominum more gerere poteratis, non ficto crimine insectari, non expetere vitam, non capitis arcessere. Esto, concedatur haec quoque acerbitas et odii magnitudo: adeone, ut omnia vitae salutisque communis atque etiam humanitatis jura violentur? Servum sollicitare verbis, spe promissisque corrumpere, abducere domum, contra dominum armare, hoc est non uni propinquo, sed omnibus familiis nefarium bellum indicere. Nam ista corruptela servi si non modo impunita fuerit, sed etiam a tanta auctoritate approbata, nulli parietes nostram salutem, nullae leges, nulla jura custodient. Ubi enim id, quod intus est atque nostrum, impune evolare potest contraque nos pugnare, fit in dominatu servitus, in servitute dominatus.

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O tempora! O mores! Cn. Domitius ille, quem nos pueri consulem, censorem, pontificem maximum vidimus, quum tribunus plebis M. Scaurum, principem civitatis, in judicium populi vocavisset Scaurique servus ad eum clam domum venisset et crimina in dominum delaturum se esse dixisset, prehendi hominem jussit ad Scaurumque deduci. Vide quid intersit, etsi inique Castorem cum Domitio comparo; sed tamen ille inimico servum remisit, tu ab avo abduxisti: ille incorruptum audire noluit, tu corrupisti; ille adjutorem servum contra dominum repudiavit, tu etiam accusatorem adhibuisti.

At semel iste est corruptus a vobis. Nonne, quum esset productus et quum tecum fuisset, refugit ad legatos? Nonne ad hunc Cn. Domitium venit? Nonne audiente hoc Ser. Sulpicio, clarissimo viro, qui tum casu apud Domitium cenabat, et hoc T. Torquato, optimo adolescente, se a te corruptum, tuis promissis in fraudem impulsum esse confessus est?

XII. Quae est ista tam impotens, tam crudelis, tam immoderata inhumanitas? Idcirco in hanc urbem venisti, ut hujus urbis jura et exempla corrumperes domesticaque immanitate nostrae civitatis humanitatem inquinares?

At quam acute collecta crimina! "Blesamius," inquit —ejus enim nomine, optimi viri nec tibi ignoti, male dicebat tibi—"ad regem scribere solebat, te in invidia esse, tyrannum existimari, statua inter reges posita animos hominum vehementer offensos, plaudi tibi non solere." Nonne intelligis, Caesar, ex urbanis malevolorum sermunculis haec ab istis esse collecta? Blesamius tyrannum Caesarem scriberet? Multorum enim capita civium viderat, multos jussu Caesaris vexatos, verberatos, necatos, multas afflictas et eversas domos, armatis militibus refertum forum. Quae semper in civili victoria sensimus, ea te victore non vidimus. Solus, inquam, es, C. Caesar, cujus in victoria ceciderit nemo nisi armatus. Et quem nos liberi, in summa populi Romani libertate nati, non modo non tyrannum, sed etiam clementissimum in victoria ducem vidimus, is Blesa-

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mio, qui vivat in regno, tyrannus videri potest? Nam de statua quis queritur, una praesertim, quum tam multas videat? Valde enim invidendum est ejus statuis, cujus tropaeis non invidemus! Nam si locus affert invidiam, nullus locus est ad statuam quidem rostris clarior. De plausu autem quid respondeam? qui nec desideratus unquam a te est et nonnunquam obstupefactis hominibus ipsa admiratione compressus est et fortasse eo praetermissus, quia nihil vulgare te dignum videri potest.

XIII. Nihil a me arbitror praeteritum, sed aliquid ad extremum causae reservatum. Id autem quid est? Te ut plane Deiotaro reconciliet oratio mea. Non enim jam metuo ne tu illi succenseas, illud vereor ne tibi illum succensere aliquid suspicere: quod abest longissime, mihi crede, Caesar. Quid enim retineat per te meminit, non quid amiserit, neque se a te multatum arbitratur, sed, quum existimares multis tibi multa esse tribuenda, quo minus a se, qui in altera parte fuisset, ea sumeres non recusavit. Etenim si Antiochus Magnus ille, rex Asiae, quum posteaquam a L. Scipione devictus est, Tauro tenus regnare jussus esset omnemque hanc Asiam, quae est nunc nostra provincia, amisisset, dicere est solitus benigne sibi a populo Romano esse factum, quod nimis magna procuratione liberatus modicis regni terminis uteretur, potest multo facilius se Deiotarus consolari. Ille enim furoris multam sustulerat, hic erroris. Omnia tu Deiotaro, Caesar, tribuisti, quum et ipsi et filio nomen regium concessisti. Hoc nomine retento atque servato nullum beneficium populi Romani, nullum judicium de se senatus imminutum putat. Magno animo et erecto est, nec unquam succumbet inimicis, ne fortunae quidem. Multa se arbitratur et peperisse ante factis et habere in animo atque virtute, quae nullo modo possit amittere. Quae enim fortuna aut quis casus aut quae tanta possit injuria omnium imperatorum de Deiotaro decreta delere? Ab omnibus enim est ornatus, qui, posteaquam in castris esse potuit per aetatem, in Asia, Cappadocia,

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Ponto, Cilicia, Syria bella gesserunt. Senatus vero judicia de illo tam multa tamque honorifica, quae publicis populi Romani litteris monumentisque consignata sunt, quae unquam vetustas obruet aut quae tanta delebit oblivio? Quid de virtute ejus dicam? de magnitudine animi, gravitate, constantia? quae omnes docti atque sapientes summa, quidam etiam sola bona esse dixerunt, hisque non modo ad bene, sed etiam ad beate vivendum contentam esse virtutem. Haec ille reputans et dies noctesque cogitans non modo tibi non succenset—esset enim non solum ingratus, sed etiam amens—verum omnem tranquillitatem et quietem senectutis acceptam refert clementiae tuae.

XIV. Quo quidem animo quum antea fuit, tum non dubito quin tuis litteris, quarum exemplum legi, quas ad eum Tarracone huic Blesamio dedisti, se magis etiam erexerit ab omnique sollicitudine abstraxerit. Jubes enim eum bene sperare et bono esse animo, quod scio te non frustra scribere solere. Memini enim iisdem fere verbis ad me te scribere meque tuis litteris bene sperare non frustra esse jussum. Laboro equidem regis Deiotari causa, quocum mihi amicitiam res publica conciliavit, hospitium voluntas utriusque conjunxit, familiaritatem consuetudo attulit, summam vero necessitudinem magna ejus officia in me et in exercitum meum effecerunt: sed quum de illo laboro, tum de multis amplissimis viris, quibus semel ignotum a te esse oportet, nec beneficium tuum in dubium vocari, nec haerere in animis hominum sollicitudinem sempiternam, nec accidere ut quisquam te timere incipiat eorum, qui sint semel a te liberati timore. Non debeo, C. Caesar, quod fieri solet in tantis periculis, tentare, quonam modo dicendo misericordiam tuam commovere possim. Nihil opus est. Occurrere solet ipsa supplicibus et calamitosis, nullius oratione evocata. Propone tibi duos reges et id animo contemplare, quod oculis non potes. Dabis profecto id misericordiae, quod iracundiae denegasti. Multa sunt monumenta tuae clementiae, sed maxima eorum incolumitates, quibus salutem de-

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disti. Quae si in privatis gloriosa sunt, multo magis commemorabuntur in regibus. Semper regium nomen in hac civitate sanctum fuit, sociorum vero regum et amicorum sanctissimum.

XV. Quod nomen hi reges ne amitterent te victore timuerunt: retentum vero et a te confirmatum posteris etiam suis tradituros se esse confidunt. Corpora sua pro salute regum suorum hi legati tibi regii tradunt, Hieras et Blesamius et Antigonus, tibi nobisque omnibus jam diu noti, eademque fide et virtute praeditus Dorylaus, qui nuper cum Hiera legatus est ad te missus, quum regum amicissimi, tum tibi etiam, ut spero, probati. Exquire de Blesamio, num quid ad regem contra dignitatem tuam scripserit. Hieras quidem causam omnem suscipit et criminibus illis pro rege se supponit reum: memoriam tuam implorat, qua vales plurimum: negat unquam se a te in Deiotari tetrarchia pedem discessisse; in primis finibus tibi se praesto fuisse dicit, usque ad ultimos prosecutum; quum e balneo exisses, tecum se fuisse, quum illa munera inspexisses cenatus, quum in cubiculo recubuisses, eandemque assiduitatem tibi se praebuisse postridie. Quam ob rem si quid eorum, quae objecta sunt, cogitatum sit, non recusat quin id suum facinus judices. Quocirca, C. Caesar, velim existimes hodierno die sententiam tuam aut cum summo dedecore miserrimam pestem importaturam esse regibus aut incolumem famam cum salute: quorum alterum optare illorum crudelitatis est, alterum conservare clementiae tuae.

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M. TULLII CICERONIS

IN

M. ANTONIUM

ORATIO PHILIPPICA PRIMA.

I. ANTE quam de re publica, patres conscripti, dicam ea, quae dicenda hoc tempore arbitror, exponam vobis breviter consilium et profectionis et reversionis meae. Ego quum sperarem aliquando ad vestrum consilium auctoritatemque rem publicam esse revocatam, manendum mihi statuebam quasi in vigilia quadam consulari ac senatoria. Nec vero usquam discedebam nec a re publica dejiciebam oculos ex eo die, quo in aedem Telluris convocati sumus. In quo templo, quantum in me fuit, jeci fundamenta pacis Atheniensiumque renovavi vetus exemplum; Graecum etiam verbum usurpavi, quo tum in sedandis discordiis usa erat civitas illa, atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui.

Praeclara tum oratio M. Antonii, egregia etiam voluntas; pax denique per eum et per liberos ejus cum praestantissimis civibus confirmata est. Atque his principiis reliqua consentiebant. Ad deliberationes eas, quas habebat domi de re publica, principes civitatis adhibebat; ad hunc ordinem res optimas deferebat; nihil tum, nisi quod erat notum omnibus, in C. Caesaris commentariis reperiebatur; summa constantia ad ea, quae quaesita erant, responde-

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bat. Num qui exsules restituti? Unum aiebat, praeterea neminem. Num immunitates datae? Nullae, respondebat. Assentiri etiam nos Ser. Sulpicio, clarissimo viro, voluit, ne qua tabula post Idus Martias ullius decreti Caesaris aut beneficii figeretur. Multa praetereo eaque praeclara; ad singulare enim M. Antonii factum festinat oratio. Dictaturam, quae jam vim regiae potestatis obsederat, funditus ex re publica sustulit, de qua ne sententias quidem diximus: scriptum senatus consultum, quod fieri vellet, attulit, quo recitato auctoritatem ejus summo studio secuti sumus eique amplissimis verbis per senatus consultum gratias egimus.

II. Lux quaedam videbatur oblata, non modo regno, quod pertuleramus, sed etiam regni timore sublato, magnumque pignus ab eo rei publicae datum, se liberam civitatem esse velle, quum dictatoris nomen, quod saepe justum fuisset, propter perpetuae dictaturae recentem memoriam funditus ex re publica sustulisset. Liberatus periculo caedis paucis post diebus senatus; uncus impactus est fugitivo illi, qui in Marii nomen invaserat. Atque haec omnia communiter cum collega; alia porro propria P. Dolabellae, quae, nisi collega abfuisset, credo iis futura fuisse communia. Nam quum serperet in urbem infinitum malum idque manaret in dies latius, iidemque bustum in foro facerent, qui illam insepultam sepulturam effecerant, et quotidie magis magisque perditi homines cum sui similibus servis tectis ac templis urbis minitarentur, talis animadversio fuit Dolabellae quum in audaces sceleratosque servos, tum in impuros et nefarios liberos, talisque eversio illius exsecratae columnae, ut mihi mirum videatur tam valde reliquum tempus ab illo uno die dissensisse.

Ecce enim Kalendis Juniis, quibus ut adessemus edixerant, mutata omnia: nihil per senatum, multa et magna per populum, et absente populo et invito. Consules designati negabant se audere in senatum venire; patriae liberatores urbe carebant ea, cujus a cervicibus jugum servile

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dejecerant, quos tamen ipsi consules in contionibus et in omni sermone laudabant; veterani qui appellabantur, quibus hic ordo diligentissime caverat, non ad conservationem earum rerum, quas habebant, sed ad spem novarum praedarum incitabantur. Quae quum audire mallem quam videre haberemque jus legationis liberum, ea mente discessi, ut adessem Kalendis Januariis, quod initium senatus cogendi fore videbatur.

III. Exposui, patres conscripti, profectionis consilium; nunc reversionis, quae plus admirationis habet, breviter exponam. Quum Brundisium iterque illud, quod tritum in Graeciam est, non sine causa vitavissem, Kalendis Sextilibus veni Syracusas, quod ab ea urbe transmissio in Graeciam laudabatur; quae tamen urbs mihi conjunctissima plus una me nocte cupiens retinere non potuit. Veritus sum ne meus repentinus ad meos necessarios adventus suspicionis aliquid afferret, si essem commoratus. Quum autem me ex Sicilia ad Leucopetram, quod est promontorium agri Regini, venti detulissent, ab eo loco conscendi, ut transmitterem; nec ita multum provectus rejectus austro sum in eum ipsum locum, unde conscenderam. Quumque intempesta nox esset mansissemque in villa P. Valerii, comitis et familiaris mei, postridieque apud eundem ventum exspectans manerem, municipes Regini complures ad me venerunt, ex iis quidam Roma recentes; a quibus primum accipio M. Antonii contionem, quae mihi ita placuit, ut ea lecta de reversione primum coeperim cogitare. Nec ita multo post edictum Bruti affertur et Cassii, quod quidem mihi, fortasse quod eos plus etiam rei publicae quam familiaritatis gratia diligo, plenum aequitatis videbatur. Addebant praeterea—fit enim plerumque ut ii, qui boni quid volunt afferre affingant aliquid, quo faciant id quod nuntiant laetius—rem conventuram; Kalendis senatum frequentem fore; Antonium repudiatis malis suasoribus, remissis provinciis Galliis, ad auctoritatem senatus esse rediturum.

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IV. Tum vero tanta sum cupiditate incensus ad reditum, ut mihi nulli neque remi neque venti satis facerent, non quo me ad tempus occursurum non putarem, sed ne tardius quam cuperem rei publicae gratularer. Atque ego celeriter Veliam devectus Brutum vidi; quanto meo dolore, non dico. Turpe mihi ipsi videbatur in eam urbem me audere reverti, ex qua Brutus cederet, et ibi velle tuto esse, ubi ille non posset. Neque vero illum similiter atque ipse eram commotum esse vidi: erectus enim maximi ac pulcherrimi facti sui conscientia nihil de suo casu, multa de vestro querebatur. Exque eo primum cognovi quae Kalendis Sextilibus in senatu fuisset L. Pisonis oratio: qui quamquam parum erat, id enim ipsum a Bruto audieram, a quibus debuerat adjutus, tamen et Bruti testimonio—quo quid potest esse gravius?—et omnium praedicatione, quos postea vidi, magnam mihi videbatur gloriam consecutus. Hunc igitur ut sequerer properavi, quem praesentes non sunt secuti; non ut proficerem aliquid, nec enim sperabam id nec praestare poteram, sed ut, si quid mihi humanitus accidisset—multa autem impendere videntur praeter naturam etiam praeterque fatum—hujus tamen diei vocem testem rei publicae relinquerem meae perpetuae erga se voluntatis.

Quoniam utriusque consilii causam, patres conscripti, probatam vobis esse confido, prius quam de re publica dicere incipio, pauca querar de hesterna M. Antonii injuria: cui sum amicus, idque me nonnullo ejus officio debere esse prae me semper tuli.

V. Quid tandem erat causae cur in senatum hesterno die tam acerbe cogerer? Solusne aberam? an non saepe minus frequentes fuistis? an ea res agebatur, ut etiam aegrotos deferri oporteret? Hannibal, credo, erat ad portas, aut de Pyrrhi pace agebatur, ad quam causam etiam Appium illum, et caecum et senem, delatum esse memoriae proditum est. De supplicationibus referebatur, quo in genere senatores deesse non solent. Coguntur enim non

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pignoribus, sed eorum, de quorum honore agitur, gratia; quod idem fit, quum de triumpho refertur. Ita sine cura consules sunt, ut paene liberum sit senatori non adesse. Qui quum mihi mos notus esset quumque e via languerem et mihimet displicerem, misi pro amicitia qui hoc ei diceret. At ille vobis audientibus cum fabris se domum meam venturum esse dixit. Nimis iracunde hoc quidem et valde intemperanter. Cujus enim maleficii tanta ista poena est, ut dicere in hoc ordine auderet se publicis operis disturbaturum publice ex senatus sententia aedificatam domum? Quis autem unquam tanto damno senatorem coëgit? aut quid est ultra pignus aut multam? Quod si scisset quam sententiam dicturus essem, remisisset aliquid profecto de severitate cogendi.

VI. An me censetis, patres conscripti, quod vos inviti secuti estis, decreturum fuisse, ut parentalia cum supplicationibus miscerentur? ut inexpiabiles religiones in rem publicam inducerentur? ut decernerentur supplicationes mortuo? Nihil dico cui. Fuerit ille Brutus, qui et ipse dominatu regio rem publicam liberavit et ad similem virtutem et simile factum stirpem jam prope in quingentesimum annum propagavit, adduci tamen non possem ut quemquam mortuum conjungerem cum immortalium religione, ut, cujus sepulchrum usquam exstet ubi parentetur, ei publice supplicetur.

Ego vero eam sententiam dixissem, ut me adversus populum Romanum, si qui accidisset gravior rei publicae casus, si bellum, si morbus, si fames, facile possem defendere; quae partim jam sunt, partim timeo ne impendeant. Sed hoc ignoscant dii immortales velim et populo Romano, qui id non probat, et huic ordini, qui decrevit invitus. Quid? de reliquis rei publicae malis licetne dicere? Mihi vero licet et semper licebit dignitatem tueri, mortem contemnere. Potestas modo veniendi in hunc locum sit: dicendi periculum non recuso. Atque utinam, patres conscripti, Kalendis Sextilibus adesse potuissem! non quo

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profici potuerit aliquid, sed ne unus modo consularis, quod tum accidit, dignus illo honore, dignus re publica inveniretur. Qua quidem ex re magnum accipio dolorem, homines amplissimis populi Romani beneficiis usos L. Pisonem ducem optimae sententiae non secutos. Idcircone nos populus Romanus consules fecit, ut in altissimo gradu dignitatis locati rem publicam pro nihilo haberemus? Non modo voce nemo L. Pisoni consularis, sed ne vultu quidem assensus est. Quae, malum! est ista voluntaria servitus? Fuerit quaedam necessaria; neque ego hoc ab omnibus iis desidero, qui sententiam consulari loco dicunt: alia causa est eorum, quorum silentio ignosco, alia eorum, quorum vocem requiro: quos quidem doleo in suspicionem populo Romano venire non modo metus, quod ipsum esset turpe, sed alium alia de causa deesse dignitati suae.

VII. Quare primum maximas gratias et ago et habeo Pisoni, qui non quid efficere posset in re publica cogitavit, sed quid facere ipse deberet: deinde a vobis, patres conscripti, peto ut, etiam si sequi minus audebitis orationem atque auctoritatem meam, benigne me tamen, ut adhuc fecistis, audiatis.

Primum igitur acta Caesaris servanda censeo, non quo probem—quis enim id quidem potest?—sed quia rationem habendam maxime arbitror pacis atque otii. Vellem adesset M. Antonius, modo sine advocatis—sed, ut opinor, licet ei minus valere, quod mihi heri per illum non licuit—doceret me vel potius vos, patres conscripti, quem ad modum ipse Caesaris acta defenderet. An in commentariolis et chirographis et libellis se uno auctore prolatis, ac ne prolatis quidem, sed tantum modo dictis, acta Caesaris firma erunt; quae ille in aes incidit, in quo populi jussa perpetuasque leges esse voluit, pro nihilo habebuntur? Equidem existimo nihil tam esse in actis Caesaris quam leges Caesaris. An, si cui quid ille promisit, id erit fixum, quod idem non facere potuit? ut multis multa promissa non fecit: quae tamen multo plura illo mortuo reperta

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sunt, quam a vivo beneficia per omnes annos tributa et data.

Sed ea non muto, non moveo; summo studio illius praeclara acta defendo. Pecunia utinam ad Opis maneret! cruenta illa quidem, sed his temporibus, quoniam iis, quorum est, non redditur, necessaria: quamquam ea quoque sit effusa, si ita in actis fuit. Ecquid est quod tam proprie dici possit actum ejus, qui togatus in re publica cum potestate imperioque versatus sit, quam lex? Quaere acta Gracchi, leges Semproniae proferentur: quaere Sullae, Corneliae. Quid? Pompeii tertius consulatus in quibus actis constitit? Nempe in legibus. De Caesare ipso si quaereres, quidnam egisset in urbe et in toga, leges multas responderet se et praeclaras tulisse; chirographa vero aut mutaret aut non daret aut, si dedisset, non istas res in actis suis duceret. Sed haec ipsa concedo, quibusdam etiam in rebus coniveo: in maximis vero rebus, id est legibus, acta Caesaris dissolvi ferendum non puto.

VIII. Quae lex melior, utilior, optima etiam re publica saepius flagitata, quam ne praetoriae provinciae plus quam annum neve plus quam biennium consulares obtinerentur? Hac lege sublata videnturne vobis posse Caesaris acta servari? Quid? lege, quae promulgata est de tertia decuria nonne omnes judiciariae leges Caesaris dissolvuntur? Et vos acta Caesaris defenditis, qui leges ejus evertitis? nisi forte, si quid memoriae causa rettulit in libellum, id numerabitur in actis et, quamvis iniquum et inutile sit, defendetur, quod ad populum centuriatis comitiis tulit, id in actis Caesaris non habebitur. At quae est ista tertia decuria? "Centurionum," inquit. Quid? isti ordini judicatus lege Julia, etiam ante Pompeia, Aurelia non patebat? "Census praefiniebatur," inquit. Non centurioni quidem solum, sed equiti etiam Romano: itaque viri fortissimi atque honestissimi, qui ordines duxerunt, res et judicant et judicaverunt. "Non quaero" inquit "istos: quicumque ordinem duxit, judicet." At si ferretis, quicumque equo meru-

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isset, quod est lautius, nemini probaretis; in judice enim spectari et fortuna debet et dignitas. "Non quaero" inquit "ista: addo etiam judices manipulares ex legione Alaudarum; aliter enim nostri negant posse se salvos esse." O contumeliosum honorem iis, quos ad judicandum nec opinantes vocatis! hic enim est legis index, ut ii res in tertia decuria judicent, qui libere judicare non audeant. In quo quantus error est, dii immortales, eorum, qui istam legem excogitaverunt! Ut enim quisque sordidissimus videbitur, ita libentissime severitate judicandi sordes suas eluet laborabitque ut honestis decuriis potius dignus videatur quam in turpem jure conjectus.

IX. Altera promulgata lex est, ut et de vi et majestatis damnati ad populum provocent, si velint. Haec utrum tandem lex est an legum omnium dissolutio? Quis est enim hodie, cujus intersit istam legem manere? Nemo reus est legibus illis, nemo quem futurum putemus; armis enim gesta nunquam profecto in judicium vocabuntur. At res popularis. Utinam quidem aliquid velletis esse populare! omnes enim jam cives de rei publicae salute una et mente et voce consentiunt.

Quae est igitur ista cupiditas legis ejus ferendae, quae turpitudinem summam habeat, gratiam nullam? Quid enim turpius quam qui majestatem populi Romani minuerit per vim, eum damnatum judicio ad eam ipsam vim reverti, propter quam sit jure damnatus? Sed quid plura de lege disputo? quasi vero id agatur ut quisquam provocet: id agitur, id fertur, ne quis omnino unquam istis legibus reus fiat. Quis enim aut accusator tam amens reperietur, qui reo condemnato objicere se multitudini conductae velit, aut judex, qui reum damnare audeat, ut ipse ad operas mercennarias statim protrahatur? Non igitur provocatio ista lege datur, sed duae maxime salutares leges quaestionesque tolluntur. Quid est aliud hortari adolescentes, ut turbulenti, ut seditiosi, ut perniciosi cives velint esse? Quam autem ad pestem furor tribunicius impelli non poterit his

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duabus quaestionibus de vi et majestatis sublatis? Quid, quod obrogatur legibus Caesaris, quae jubent ei, qui de vi, itemque ei, qui majestatis damnatus sit, aqua et igni interdici? Quibus quum provocatio datur, nonne acta Caesaris rescinduntur? Quae quidem ego, patres conscripti, qui illa nunquam probavi, tamen ita conservanda concordiae causa arbitratus sum, ut non modo, quas vivus leges Caesar tulisset, infirmandas hoc tempore non putarem, sed ne illas quidem, quas post mortem Caesaris prolatas esse et fixas videtis.

X. De exsilio reducti a mortuo; civitas data non solum singulis, sed nationibus et provinciis universis a mortuo; immunitatibus infinitis sublata vectigalia a mortuo. Ergo haec uno, verum optimo auctore domo prolata defendimus: eas leges, quas ipse nobis inspectantibus recitavit, pronuntiavit, tulit, quibus latis gloriabatur eisque legibus rem publicam contineri putabat, de provinciis, de judiciis, eas, inquam, Caesaris leges nos, qui defendimus acta Caesaris, evertendas putamus?

Ac de his tamen legibus, quae promulgatae sunt, saltem queri possumus: de iis, quae jam latae dicuntur, ne id quidem licuit: illae enim sine ulla promulgatione latae sunt ante quam scriptae. Quaero autem, quid sit cur aut ego aut quisquam vestrum, patres conscripti, bonis tribunis plebis leges malas metuat. Paratos habemus qui intercedant, paratos qui rem publicam religione defendant; vacui metu esse debemus. "Quas tu mihi," inquit, "intercessiones? quas religiones?" Eas scilicet, quibus rei publicae salus continetur. "Negligimus ista et nimis antiqua ac stulta ducimus: forum saepietur, omnes claudentur aditus, armati in praesidiis multis locis collocabuntur." Quid tum? Quod ita erit gestum, id lex erit? et in aes incidi jubebitis, credo, illa legitima: "Consules populum jure rogaverunt"—hocine a majoribus accepimus jus rogandi? —"populusque jure scivit." Qui populus? isne, qui exclusus est? Quo jure? an eo, quod vi et armis omne

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sublatum est? Atque haec dico de futuris, quod est amicorum ante dicere ea, quae vitari possint: quae si facta non erunt, refelletur oratio mea. Loquor de legibus promulgatis, de quibus est integrum vobis. Demonstro vitia; tollite! Denuntio vim, arma; removete!

XI. Irasci quidem vos mihi, Dolabella, pro re publica dicenti non oportebit. Quamquam te quidem id facturum non arbitror, novi facilitatem tuam: collegam tuum aiunt in hac sua fortuna, quae bona ipsi videtur—mihi, ne gravius quippiam dicam, avorum et avunculi sui consulatum si imitaretur, fortunatior videretur — sed eum iracundum audio esse factum. Video autem quam sit odiosum habere eundem iratum et armatum, quum tanta praesertim gladiorum sit impunitas, sed proponam jus, ut opinor, aequum, quod M. Antonium non arbitror repudiaturum. Ego, si quid in vitam ejus aut in mores cum contumelia dixero, quo minus mihi inimicissimus sit, non recusabo: sin consuetudinem meam tenuero, id est, si libere quae sentiam de re publica dixero, primum deprecor ne irascatur, deinde, si hoc non impetro, peto ut sic irascatur ut civi.

Armis utatur, si ita necesse est, ut dicit, sui defendendi causa: iis, qui pro re publica quae ipsis visa erunt dixerint, ista arma ne noceant. Quid hac postulatione dici potest aequius? Quod si, ut mihi a quibusdam ejus familiaribus dictum est, omnis eum quae habetur contra voluntatem ejus oratio graviter offendit, etiam si nulla inest contumelia, feremus amici naturam. Sed iidem illi ita mecum loquuntur: "Non idem tibi, adversario Caesaris, licebit, quod Pisoni socero," et simul admonent quiddam, quod cavebimus; nec erit justior in senatum non veniendi morbi causa quam mortis.

XII. Sed per deos immortales—te enim intuens, Dolabella, non possum utriusque vestrum errorem reticere—credo enim vos, nobiles homines magna quaedam spectantes, non pecuniam, ut quidam nimis creduli suspicantur, quae semper ab amplissimo quoque clarissimoque con-

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tempta est, non opes violentas et populo Romano minime ferendam potentiam, sed caritatem civium et gloriam concupivisse. Est autem gloria laus recte factorum magnorumque in rem publicam meritorum, quae quum optimi cujusque, tum etiam multitudinis testimonio comprobatur.

Dicerem, Dolabella, qui recte factorum fructus esset, nisi te praeter ceteros paulisper esse expertum viderem. Quem potes recordari in vita illuxisse tibi diem laetiorem quam quum expiato foro, dissipato concursu impiorum, principibus sceleris poena affectis, te domum recepisti? Cujus ordinis, cujus generis, cujus denique fortunae studia tum laudi et gratulationi tuae se non obtulerunt? Quin mihi etiam, quo auctore te in his rebus uti arbitrabantur, et gratias boni viri agebant et tuo nomine gratulabantur. Recordare, quaeso, Dolabella, consensum illum theatri, quum omnes earum rerum obliti, propter quas fuerant tibi offensi, significarent se beneficio novo memoriam veteris doloris abjecisse. Hanc tu, P. Dolabella—magno loquor cum dolore—hanc tu, inquam, potuisti aequo animo tantam dignitatem deponere?

XIII. Tu autem, M. Antoni, absentem enim appello, unum illum diem, quo in aede Telluris senatus fuit, non omnibus his mensibus, quibus te quidam multum a me dissentientes beatum putant, anteponis? Quae fuit oratio de concordia! quanto metu senatus, quanta sollicitudine civitas tum a te liberata est, quum collegam tuum depositis inimicitiis, oblitus auspiciorum a te ipso augure populi Romani nuntiatorum, illo primum die collegam tibi esse voluisti, tuus parvus filius in Capitolium a te missus pacis obses fuit! Quo senatus die laetior? quo populus Romanus? qui quidem nulla in contione unquam frequentior fuit. Tum denique liberati per viros fortissimos videbamur, quia, ut illi voluerant, libertatem pax consequebatur. Proximo, altero, tertio, denique reliquis consecutis diebus non intermittebas quasi donum aliquod quotidie afferre rei publicae, maximum autem illud, quod dictaturae nomen sustulisti.

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Haec inusta est a te, a te, inquam, mortuo Caesari nota ad ignominiam sempiternam. Ut enim propter unius M. Manlii scelus decreto gentis Manliae neminem patricium Manlium Marcum vocari licet, sic tu propter unius dictatoris odium nomen dictatoris funditus sustulisti.

Num te, quum haec pro salute rei publicae tanta gessisses, fortunae tuae, num amplitudinis, num claritatis paenitebat? Unde igitur subito tanta ista mutatio? Non possum adduci ut suspicer te pecunia captum: licet quod cuique libet loquatur, credere non est necesse; nihil enim unquam in te sordidum, nihil humile cognovi. Quamquam solent domestici depravare nonnunquam, sed novi firmitatem tuam. Atque utinam ut culpam, sic etiam suspicionem vitare potuisses!

XIV. Illud magis vereor, ne ignorans verum iter gloriae gloriosum putes plus te unum posse quam omnes et metui a civibus tuis. Quod si ita putas, totam ignoras viam gloriae. Carum esse civem, bene de re publica mereri, laudari, coli, diligi gloriosum est: metui vero et in odio esse invidiosum, detestabile, imbecillum, caducum. Quod videmus etiam in fabula illi ipsi, qui "oderint, dum metuant" dixerit, perniciosum fuisse. Utinam, M. Antoni, avum tuum meminisses! de quo tamen audisti multa ex me eaque saepissime. Putasne illum immortalitatem mereri voluisse, ut propter armorum habendorum licentiam metueretur? Illa erat vita, illa secunda fortuna, libertate esse parem ceteris, principem dignitate. Itaque, ut omittam res avi tui prosperas, acerbissimum ejus supremum diem malim quam L. Cinnae dominatum, a quo ille crudelissime est interfectus.

Sed quid oratione te flectam? Si enim exitus C. Caesaris efficere non potest ut malis carus esse quam metui, nihil cujusquam proficiet nec valebit oratio. Quem qui beatum fuisse putant, miseri ipsi sunt. Beatus est nemo, qui ea lege vivit, ut non modo impune, sed etiam cum summa interfectoris gloria interfici possit. Quare

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flecte te, quaeso, et majores tuos respice atque ita guberna rem publicam, ut natum esse te cives tui gaudeant, sine quo nec beatus nec clarus nec tutus quisquam esse omnino potest.

XV. Populi quidem Romani judicia multa ambo habetis, quibus vos non satis moveri permoleste fero. Quid enim gladiatoribus clamores innumerabilium civium? quid populi versus? quid Pompeii statuae plausus infiniti? quid duobus tribunis plebis, qui vobis adversantur? Parumne haec significant incredibiliter consentientem populi Romani universi voluntatem? Quid? Apollinarium ludorum plausus vel testimonia potius et judicia populi Romani parum magna vobis videbantur? O beatos illos, qui, quum adesse ipsis propter vim armorum non licebat, aderant tamen et in medullis populi Romani ac visceribus haerebant! nisi forte Attio tum plaudi et sexagesimo post anno palmam dari, non Bruto putabatis, qui ludis suis ita caruit, ut in illo apparatissimo spectaculo studium populus Romanus tribueret absenti, desiderium liberatoris sui perpetuo plausu et clamore leniret.

Equidem is sum qui istos plausus, quum a populi parte civibus tribuerentur, semper contempserim; idemque, quum a summis, mediis, infimis, quum denique ab universis hoc idem fit, quumque ii, qui ante sequi populi consensum solebant, fugiunt, non plausum illum, sed judicium puto. Sin haec leviora vobis videntur, quae sunt gravissima, num etiam hoc contemnitis, quod sensistis, tam caram populo Romano vitam A. Hirtii fuisse? Satis erat enim probatum illum esse populo Romano, ut est, jucundum amicis, in quo vincit omnes, carum suis, quibus est ipse carissimus; tantam tamen sollicitudinem bonorum, tantum timorem in quo meminimus? Certe in nullo. Quid igitur? Hoc vos, per deos immortales, quale sit non interpretamini? Quid? eos de vestra vita cogitare non censetis, quibus eorum, quos sperant rei publicae consulturos, vita tam cara sit?

Cepi fructum, patres conscripti, reversionis meae, quo-

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niam et ea dixi, ut quicumque casus consecutus esset, exstaret constantiae meae testimonium, et sum a vobis benigne ac diligenter auditus. Quae potestas si mihi saepius sine meo vestroque periculo fiet, utar; si minus, quantum potero, non tam mihi me quam rei publicae reservabo. Mihi fere satis est quod vixi vel ad aetatem vel ad gloriam: huc si quid accesserit, non tam mihi quam vobis reique publicae accesserit.

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REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS.

Numerals with "G." refer to the author's Latin Grammar; with "L. C." or "Lat. Comp.," to his introduction to Latin Composition; with "p." or "pp.," to pages in this work.

The following abbreviations occur:

abl.	ablative.	gen.	genitive.
absol.	absolute.	i. e., *id est* . . .	that is.
acc.	accusative.	lit.	literally.
Cat.	Catiline.	Sall.	Sallust.
dat.	dative.	subj.	subjunctive.
etc., *et cetera* . . .	and so forth.	syn.	synonymes.

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NOTES.

ORATIONS AGAINST CATILINE.

INTRODUCTION.

L. Sergius Catiline, against whom these orations were delivered, belonged to a patrician family which had become greatly impoverished. He was, therefore, the heir to a noble name, but to no large estates. Unprincipled and reckless, he early perverted to the basest uses the remarkable powers of body and mind with which he had been endowed by nature. As a zealous partisan of Sulla, he acted a conspicuous part in the bloody proscriptions which followed the triumph of the dictator. Among the victims who perished at his hands was his own brother-in-law Quintus Caecilius.

Catiline held the office of praetor in the year 68 B. C., was governor of Africa in 67, and returned to Rome in 66 to canvass for the consulship, but was compelled to relinquish his suit by an impeachment for maladministration in his province. Burning with rage and unable to brook disappointment, he at once entered into an alliance with Cn. Calpurnius Piso, a young but profligate patrician, and P. Autronius Paetus, who, having been convicted of bribery, was disqualified from entering upon the duties of the consulship to which he had been elected. The plan of the conspirators was to murder the consuls on the first of January, during the ceremonies of inauguration, after which Catiline and Autronius were to seize the consular power, and Piso to take possession of the Spanish provinces. The execution of the plan was, however, subsequently deferred to the fifth of February, when it was

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fortunately frustrated by a mistake on the part of Catiline, who gave the signal before his accomplices were ready for action.

In June, 64 B. C., Catiline resumed his revolutionary schemes on a larger scale and with renewed energy. Rome at that time furnished him abundant materials for such a work in the throngs of luxurious spendthrifts, desperate insolvents, and reckless adventurers, who filled her streets. He soon numbered among his accomplices eleven senators, four members of the equestrian order, and several men of position and influence in the provincial towns. Thus strengthened, he boldly presented himself as a candidate for the consulship, but defeat awaited him. Marcus Cicero the orator and Caius Antonius were elected consuls, the former by an overwhelming majority.

This was a severe disappointment for Catiline, but it only rendered him more reckless than ever in his revolutionary designs. He had entered upon a desperate game, and he resolved to hazard every thing, to win or die. He established the headquarters of his movement at Faesulae, in Etruria, under the command of Gaius Manlius, an insolvent and revolutionist, who had served as a centurion under Sulla. He raised money upon his own credit and that of his friends, collected stores of arms at convenient centres in different portions of Italy, and endeavored to enlist in his cause the desperate and abandoned of both sexes and of all ranks. His audacity aimed at nothing less than the overthrow of the government. He proposed to seize all the offices of trust and emolument, to cancel debts, to confiscate the property of the rich, and, in fine, to reënact the bloody scenes of Sulla's proscriptions.

It was at such a crisis, that on the first of January in that memorable year, 63 B. C., Cicero, the accomplished orator and scholar, entered upon the arduous and perilous duties of the consulship. A base and nefarious conspiracy against the government was rapidly consummating its work, a bloody revolution was imminent, and even his own colleague in the consulship, Gaius Antonius, was supposed to be more or less in sympathy with the treasonable movement. But Cicero proved himself equal to the emergency. He secured the passive coöperation of Antonius by offering, at the outset, to transfer to him the rich province of Macedonia at the expiration of his term of office. He, moreover,

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opened communication with Quintus Curius, one of the accomplices of Catiline, and, by means of large promises, engaged him to keep the government informed in regard to all the movements of the conspirators. Curius proved a faithful and trustworthy agent.

When the consular election for 62 B. C. approached, Catiline, once more a candidate, determined not to suffer another defeat. He accordingly adopted the bold project of murdering the presiding consul, and, if need be, the rival candidates, and of carrying the election by force of arms. In view of these dangers, the election was deferred until the twenty-first of October, and, afterwards, until the twenty-eighth. On the twenty-first of that month the senate assembled to consider the state of the nation, and at that session Cicero, in the presence of Catiline, exposed the revolutionary designs of the conspirators, whereupon the senate clothed the consuls with dictatorial powers for the safety of the republic. On the twenty-eighth, the comitia met according to appointment; Cicero appeared in the Campus Martius, surrounded by a strong body-guard of armed men. The resolute bearing of the consul and his formidable guard so overawed the conspirators that no disturbance was made. Catiline was again defeated; Decimus Silanus and Lucius Murena were elected consuls for the ensuing year.

In the mean time, civil war had already commenced; Manlius was in arms against the republic. On the night of the fifth of November, Catiline met the most prominent of his partisans at the house of Marcus Laeca. He announced his purpose to join the army at the earliest possible date, assigned to the leaders their several parts in the work of the conspiracy, and urged upon them the importance of taking the life of Cicero. Two of his agents at once promised to call upon the consul the next morning and assassinate him in his own house; but Cicero, forewarned in regard to their purpose, refused to admit them.

On the seventh of November, the senate met, for greater security, in the Temple of Jupiter Stator, which was guarded by Roman knights. Catiline, contrary to the expectation of all, had the effrontery to present himself at the meeting, but no greeting welcomed him to his accustomed place; the seats in his vicinity were instantly vacated; the traitor sat alone, an object of scorn and contempt. It was then that Cicero, the consul, giving utter-

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ance to his indignation in a torrent of invective, pronounced his *First Oration against Catiline.*

The effect was perfectly electrical. Catiline was for the moment paralyzed, but, quickly recovering his self-possession and assuming the tone of injured innocence, he implored the senate not to trust the base slanders which the consul had heaped upon him; he even ventured upon harsh and abusive language against Cicero, but his voice was at once drowned with cries of "Enemy," "Traitor," from the whole assembly. That night he left the city.

On the following day, the eighth of November, Cicero delivered his *Second Oration against Catiline* before the people in the Forum. His object was to justify the course which he had pursued in relation to the conspiracy, to allay the general excitement, and to intimidate the conspirators who had not yet left the city.

In the mean time, Catiline had repaired to the camp of Manlius, and had assumed the fasces and other insignia of consular power. The senate accordingly declared him an outlaw, ordered new levies of troops, and dispatched able leaders to different parts of the country where danger was apprehended. Cicero was directed to guard the city, and Antonius was appointed to the command of the army destined against Catiline.

According to the plan which Catiline unfolded to his associates before his departure, Cethegus was to assassinate the consul Cicero, the praetor Lentulus was charged with the general management of the affairs of the conspiracy in the capital, Gabinius and Statilius were to fire the city, and, in the midst of the general confusion attendant upon the conflagration, the conspirators were to open communication with Catiline. But, while the execution of the bloody plot was delayed, a deputation from the Allobroges in Gaul, visited Rome to present certain complaints against the provincial government. Lentulus, taking advantage of their disaffection, endeavored to interest them in the conspiracy, but Cicero finally succeeded in securing their coöperation, and, seeing that they could be made very useful to the government, encouraged them to continue their negotiations with the conspirators, and obtain from them a written statement of the proposition which they were to make to their people. The experiment was perfectly successful. The required statement, bear-

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ing the signatures of Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius, was readily obtained. The Gallic ambassadors, having finished their work, left Rome on the night of the second of December, accompanied by Titus Volturcius, the bearer of dispatches for Catiline, but they had proceeded only a short distance beyond the city gate when they fell into the hands of an armed force in the employ of the government. Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius, were arrested the next morning. Later in the day, the prisoners were all brought before the bar of the senate, then assembled in the Temple of Concord. The evidence of their guilt was overwhelming, and was finally confirmed by their own confessions.

After the adjournment of the senate, Cicero addressed the people on the great events of the day in his *Third Oration against Catiline.* The indignation against the conspirators became almost ungovernable; execrations were heaped upon Catiline; Cicero was the hero of the hour.

On the fifth of December, the senate met in the Temple of Concord, to decide the fate of the prisoners. D. Junius Silanus, consul-elect, recommended the punishment of death, but C. Julius Caesar, praetor-elect, objected to capital punishment as illegal, and recommended imprisonment for life. It was in the course of this debate that Cicero pronounced his *Fourth Oration against Catiline.* The sentence of death was decreed by the senate, and executed that very night, under the direction of the consul himself.

In the mean time, Catiline was in Etruria at the head of a formidable force, where, in the ensuing spring, he was defeated in a desperate contest, and fell in the thickest of the fight.

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FIRST ORATION AGAINST CATILINE, DELIVERED BEFORE THE SENATE IN THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER STATOR, ON THE SEVENTH OF NOVEMBER, 63 B. C.

ANALYSIS.

I. INTRODUCTION. I.

II. CATILINE DESERVES THE PUNISHMENT OF DEATH IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAWS AND PRECEDENTS OF ROME. II.

III. EXPOSURE OF THE MOVEMENTS AND PLANS OF THE CONSPIRATORS. III., IV.

IV. EXHORTATION TO CATILINE TO LEAVE THE CITY WITH HIS ACCOMPLICES. V.—X.

V. REASONS FOR ALLOWING SUCH A CRIMINAL TO LEAVE THE CITY. XI., XII.

VI. CONCLUSION. XIII.

I. *Introduction. The Audacity of Catiline in appearing in the Senate. His Crime merits Death.*

1. Quousque...nostra. Observe the abrupt and impassioned beginning of the oration, explained by the fact that Catiline the conspirator had just taken his place in the senate. See Introduction p. 139.—**Tandem**, *pray.* This idiomatic use of *tandem*, expressive of impatience and surprise, is not uncommon in Cicero's orations.—**Catilina**; G. 602, VI.—**Patientia**; G. 419.

2. Quam diu, quem ad finem; synonymes with *quousque*, referring to *time*. **Quam diu**, *how long*, giving prominence to the *duration* of the action, **quem ad finem**, like *quousque*, *how long*, lit. *to what end, limit*, calling attention to the *end* of the action.—**Etiam** = et jam, *even now=still.* **Quam diu etiam**, *how long still*, i. e., how much longer.—**Iste tuus**, *that of yours.* G. 450.—**Eludet**, *display its mockery*, synonyme with *sese jactabit*, in the next line.

3. Nihilne; G. 380, 2; 457, 3. Observe the difference between *nihilne* (not at all?) and *nonne* (not?).—**Nihilne, nihil** (line 4), **nihil** (line 5); a fine example of the figure *anaphora.* G. 704, II. 3.—**Nocturnum**, *nightly*, i. e., by night, not, night after night.

4. Praesidium Palatii. The Palatine Hill, south of the Forum, was a very commanding position, and was accordingly guarded in times of public alarm.—**Timor.** See Syn. L. C. 305.

5. Munitissimus locus. The senate was convened in the temple of Jupiter Stator, situated on the ascent to the Palatine. The temple was

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probably guarded, though it was also under the protection of the force upon the Palatine; hence *munitissimus*. 1

6. Habendi senatus; G. 562; 598, 3.—**Ora vultusque.** Observe the difference of meaning—*ora* referring to the features, the face; *vultus*, to the expression of the face, the looks. The looks of surprise and indignation with which the senate received Catiline as he took his seat in that body are here meant.

7. Non sentis, non vides (line 8); G. 346, II. 1, 2).—**Constrictam teneri**, *is held in check.*

9. Proxima, superiore nocte, *last night, the night before;* Abl. of Time. One of the events to which Cicero here refers is the meeting at the house of Laeca, which took place on the night before the last (*superiore nocte*), the other is probably the attempt upon the life of Cicero, which may not have been actually made until the next night after the meeting, though Catiline's agents offered to make it that very night. It is, however, entirely possible that Cicero here refers to some other movement on the part of Catiline. For an account of the meeting at the house of Laeca and of the attempt upon the life of Cicero, see p. 4, and Introduction, p. 139.—**Egeris**; G. 525.

10. Quid consilii—quod consilium; G. 438, 5; 396, III. 2, 3), (3). —**Nostrum**; G. 396, III. 1.

11. Ignorare. Give object; G. 525, 2.—**Arbitraris**. Object? G. 550.

12. O tempora! G. 381.—**Consul.** To whom does Cicero refer? Who was the other consul? See Introduction, p. 138. The consuls, it will be remembered, were the two chief magistrates, or joint presidents of the commonwealth.

13. Immo...etiam. Observe the accumulation of particles, with the force of each. **Immo**, *nay more*, strengthening the previous statement, which contained only a part of the truth.

14. Publici...particeps. Catiline, notwithstanding the active part which he had taken in the conspiracy, had the effrontery to take his seat in the senate.—**Consilii.** G. 399, 2, 2).

15. Nos; expressed because emphatic. G. 446.

16. Viri fortes. In irony.—**Rei publicae**; G. 385, 2.—**Videmur**=nobis videmur, *seem to ourselves*, i. e., think, imagine:—**Si vitemus**; Subjunctive by Attraction. The conclusion is *satis facere*, not *videmur*. G. 527, 3.—**Istius**; G. 450, 3.

18. Jussu consulis, *by the order of the consul*, i. e., of Cicero. This could be done by virtue of a decree of the senate passed on the twenty-first of October, which clothed the consuls with dictatorial powers for the safety of the republic. See Introduction, p. 139.—**Jam pridem oportebat.** Observe the force of the Imperfect. G. 467, 2, 1).

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1 **20. An vero**, *or did indeed.* Observe the ellipsis, readily supplied from the preceding sentence: *Is not this so?*—**P. Scipio.** P. Scipio Nasica Serapio, consul in 138 B. C.; in 133, the leader in the movement against Ti. Gracchus, the famous Tribune, who in the interest of the poorer classes revived the Agrarian laws for the distribution of the public lands.

21. Mediocriter, *in a moderate degree*, i. e., in comparison with the treasonable plot of Catiline.

2 **1. Privatus**, *though a private citizen*, i. e., the high-priest was a private citizen, as he held no civil office, or magistracy. G. 363, 3.

3. Illa nimis antiqua, *those well-known cases, as too ancient.* G. 450, 4; 442. The plural *illa* implies that Cicero had in mind a class of cases of which he gives that of Ahala as an example.—**Quod**, *that*, or *namely that.* The clause is in apposition with *illa.* G. 363, 5.

4. Ahala, Maelium. Servilius Ahala, master of the horse under the dictator Cincinnatus, was sent in the year 439 B. C. to arrest Spurius Maelius, who was suspected of aiming at regal power. Maelius refused to obey the summons of the dictator, and was accordingly slain on the spot. It is, however, by no means certain that the suspicions against Maelius were well founded. By distributing grain among the poorer classes at a time of great scarcity, he made himself the idol of the Plebeians, but an object of hatred and suspicion to the Patricians. It is, accordingly, impossible to say whether he fell as a traitor to his country, or as a martyr to his own generosity. Cicero doubtless believed him guilty.—**Novis rebus**, *revolution;* lit. *new things.* G. 384.

5. Fuit, fuit. An emphatic repetition, to mark the contrast between the past and the present. G. 471, 1.

7. Hostem. G. 417, 1.—**Coercerent.** Subj. of Result. G. 494.—**Senatus consultum.** This refers to the decree passed on the twenty-first of October. See note on *jussu consulis*, p. 1, line 18.

9. Rei publicae. Dative with *deest.* G. 386, 2.—**Neque**; G. 585, 2.—**Hujus ordinis**, *of this order*, i. e., of the senate. This genitive limits both *consilium* and *auctoritas.* The senate had discharged its duty, the executive alone was remiss.

II. *The Forbearance of the Consul in Contrast with the Usual Policy of the Roman Government. The Reason for this.*

11. Quondam. This was in the year 121 B. C. L. Opimius was at that time consul, and was clothed with dictatorial powers for the safety of the state. His colleague in the consulship was not included in

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the decree, as he was at the time absent from Rome, commanding in the Gallic province.—**Ut videret**; Mixed Purpose; G. 492, 3. *Ut consul* (consules) *videret* (viderent) *ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet* was the regular formula by which, in times of great public danger, extraordinary powers were conferred upon one, or both, of the consuls. 2

12. Ne caperet; G. 492, 1.—**Quid detrimenti**; G. 396, III. 2, 3).

14. C. Gracchus. Gaius Gracchus, the brother of Tiberius Gracchus (see p. 1, line 21), by his bold reforms in the interests of the people incurred the enmity of the senate and patricians.—**Clarissimo patre, avo**; Abl. of Characteristic. G. 428. The father, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, had not only held the offices of censor and consul, but had twice enjoyed the honor of a triumph. The maternal grandfather was the celebrated Scipio Africanus the elder, the conqueror of Hannibal.

15. M. Fulvius. M. Fulvius Flaccus, a partisan of C. Gracchus, consul in the year 125 B. C., put to death with his sons by order of L. Opimius.

16. C. Mario; Dative. The occasion here referred to was the consular election in the year 100 B. C., when the agents of Saturninus and Servilius sought to secure the election of Servilius by assassinating his rival C. Memmius.

17. Num. What answer is expected? G. 346, II. 1, 3.

18. Tribunum plebis. The Tribunes of the people were officers appointed to defend the rights of the people against the nobles. They were at this time ten in number. By their power of *veto*, they might at any time arrest the action of the magistrates, and even of the senate.—**Praetorem.** The praetors were officers next in rank to the consuls. They were eight in number. **Rei publicae poena**, *the punishment imposed by the republic*, lit. *of the republic.* **Rei publicae**; Subjective Genitive. G. 396, I.

19. Remorata est, *reprieve*, or *permit to live*, lit. *detain, cause to wait.*—**Nos**; emphatic, in contrast with the consuls mentioned above.—**Vicesimum diem.** Cicero here speaks in round numbers. It was only the eighteenth day since the decree was passed.

20. Hebescere aciem. Observe the figurative language in which the decree of the senate is spoken of as a sword. See also below *in vagina reconditum.*

21. Hujus modi, *of this kind*, i. e., of the same kind as those under which the consuls, Opimius, Marius, and Valerius, had acted.

22. In tabulis, *in the records*, i. e., of the doings of the senate.—**Quo ex senatus consulto.** See Lat. Comp., 189, 2.

23. Interfectum esse convenit. *Convenit* is in the Perfect tense. Instead of *interfectum esse*, *interfici* could have been used, as *duci*

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2 is used p. 1, line 18; *duci oportebat;* but *interfectum esse* makes the completion of the action and its result more prominent; *you ought to have been put to death*, i. e., the work should have been finished. G. 542, 3.

24. Ad deponendam...confirmandam audaciam; G. 562, 3; 565, 3.

25. Cupio, cupio. Observe the repetition of *cupio* and the omission of the conjunction *autem*, or *vero*. G. 587, III. 4; 704, I. 1, and II. 3.—**Patres conscripti**, *conscript fathers*, i. e., senators. The senators were originally called *patres*, fathers, afterwards *patres conscripti*, i. e., the enrolled fathers, enrolled in the lists of the senate. Some think upon the authority of Livy II. 1, that the address *patres conscripti* was originally *patres et conscripti*, fathers and those who were enrolled with them, and that *conscripti* was applied to the new members added to the senate on the establishment of the commonwealth.—**Me esse clementem.** The more simple, but less expressive form would be *esse clemens.*

26. Dissolutum, *remiss;* a synonyme with **negligens**, *negligent;* **dissolutus**, *very*, or *especially negligent*, *remiss.*

27. Me inertiae; G. 410, II.; 452, 1.—**Inertiae, nequitiae**, *inaction*, *remissness*, synonymes of which the latter is the stronger.

28. Castra. This is the camp of Manlius at Faesulae in Etruria, the headquarters of the conspiracy. See Introduction, p. 138. For difference of meaning between *castrum* and *castra*, see G. 132.

29. Faucibus, *defiles.*—**In dies singulos.** See Syn. L. C. 399.

30. Eorum; construe with *castrorum*, *of that camp.*—**Imperatorem, ducem**, i. e., Catiline. See Syn. L. C. 145.

31. Hostium, moenia. See Syn. L. C. 344; 377.—**Atque adeo**, *and even.* G. 587, I. 4.

32. Rei publicae; Dative.—**Molientem**; G. 551, I. 4.

33. Jam, *at once.*—**Jussero**; Fut. Perfect, because the future action denoted by it must, in point of fact, precede the future action denoted by *erit verendum.* The Latin in the use of tenses is much more exact than the English.—**Credo.** In irony.—**Credo, erit verendum mihi**, *I shall have occasion to fear*, *I suppose*, i. e., I shall have no occasion to fear. Observe that *credo* is parenthetical, and does not, therefore, influence the construction of *erit verendum.*

34. Ne non omnes boni; supply *dicant* from *dicat* below, *that all the good may not say.* G. 492, 4, 2).—**Serius**, *too late.* G. 444, 1 and 4.

36. Ego; Emphatic. G. 446.—**Hoc**; object of *faciam.* It refers to *si te...jussero* above.—**Factum esse oportuit.** See note on *interfectum esse convenit*, line 23 above.—**Certa de causa.** The reason is given in the next two sentences. He evidently desired to wait until the public sentiment of his fellow-citizens would fully sustain him in the act.

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3. **Tui similis**, *like you*, i. e., in character. G. 391, 2, 4); 399, 3, 3 2).—**Qui fateatur**. Subjunctive of Result. G. 500; 500, 2.—**Id**, *this*, i. e., the execution of Catiline.

4. **Qui audeat**; G. 501, 1.

6. **Ne possis**; Negative Purpose. G. 491.—**Commovere te contra**, *to move in hostility to*, lit. *to move yourself against*. A transitive verb with a reflexive pronoun is sometimes best rendered into English by an intransitive verb.

8. **Fecerunt**, *have done*, i. e., have watched and guarded. Observe this special use of *facio*, like the English verb *to do*.

III. IV. *Exhortation to Catiline to abandon his Purpose, as his Movements and Plans are all known. Attempt upon the Life of the Consul.*

9. **Etenim**, *for*.—**Quod exspectes**; G. 501, I.

11. **Privata domus**. The house of Marcus Laeca, where, two days before, Catiline met the most prominent of his partisans, is here meant. The meeting was held at night; hence the significance of the language in the preceding line—*nox tenebris obscurare*.—**Parietibus**. See Syn. L. C. 377.—**Conjurationis** = conjuratorum, the abstract for the concrete.

12. **Illustrantur**, *are brought to light*, opposed to *tenebris obscurare*. **Erumpunt**, *burst forth*, i. e., come forth to public gaze, opposed to *parietibus continere*.

13. **Istam**; G. 450.—**Mihi crede**, *believe me*, i. e., believe what I say and take my advice.—**Caedis**; G. 406, II.

14. **Luce**; G. 417.

15. **Quae**; object of *recognoscas*.—**Recognoscas**. *Ut* is omitted. G. 495; 496, 1.

16. **Meministine**. G. 346, II. 1, 1).—**Ante diem XII...Novembres**, *on the twelfth day before the calends of November*, i. e., on the twenty-first of October. For the method of obtaining the English date, see G. 710, II. *Ante diem XII. Kalendas* = die duodecimo ante Kalendas, *on the twelfth day before, etc.* G. 708, III. 3. But the whole expression may be regarded as an indeclinable noun in the Ablative of Time. G. 708, III. 4; 426.—**Novembres**; adjective agreeing with *Kalendas*. G. 708, III. 2.

17. **Dicere**. The present is here used after *meministi* in accordance with Latin usage, because the memory *recalls* the past action and contemplates it as *present*. G. 541, 3.—**Fore**. The subject is *Manlium*

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3 below.—**Qui dies**; G. 445, 8.—**Futurus esset**; Indirect discourse. G. 529.

18. Ante diem...Novembres; Indeclinable noun, predicate nominative after *futurus esset*. G. 708, III. 4.—**C. Manlius**. See note on *castra*, p. 2, line 28.

19. Num me fefellit, non modo res...verum...dies, *did, not to say the fact, but the day escape me?* Cicero had not only ascertained the plans of the conspirators, but the very day upon which those plans were to be carried into execution. **Non modo**, lit. *not only*, may sometimes be best rendered *not to say*, as in this instance.

21. Id quod, *that which*, i. e., the fact that not even the day had escaped his notice. G. 445, 7.

22. Dixi ego idem, *I said also*. G. 451, 3. *Idem* agrees with *ego*. The object of *dixi* is the clause, *caedem te...Novembres*.—**Contulisse in...Novembres**, *had appointed for the fifth day before the Calends of November*, i. e., for the twenty-eighth of October, the day to which the consular election had been deferred. See Introduction, p. 139. *Ante diem...Novembres* is an indeclinable noun in the accusative with the preposition *in*. G. 708, III. 4.

23. Tum quum, *when*, lit., *then when*.

24. Roma; G. 421; 423, I.—**Non tam—quam**, *not so much—as*.—**Sui conservandi**; construe with *causa*, *for the purpose of preserving themselves*. On the form *conservandi*, see G. 563, 4. Observe the irony with which Cicero excuses this cowardly flight.

28. Discessu ceterorum, *notwithstanding the departure of the others*. *Discessu* may be treated as the ablative of *time*, though, as opposed to *tamen*, it also involves a *concession*.—**Nostra, qui remansissemus**, *of us who had remained*. The antecedent of *qui* is *nostri* implied in *nostra*. G. 445, 6.

29. Remansissemus; G. 529.—**Caede**; G. 419, IV.—**Dicebas**, *said repeatedly*. Observe the force of the Imperfect. G. 469, 2.

30. Quid? *what?* An exclamatory interrogative. It may be treated either as an accusative in exclamations or as the object of a verb to be supplied, as *ais* or *censes*. G. 381.—**Quum confideres**; G. 518, II. 1.—**Praeneste**, *Praeneste*, now Palestrina, a strongly-fortified town in Latium, southeast of Rome.

32. Jussu; Ablative of Cause.—**Praesidiis**; Abl. of Means.—**Praesidiis, custodiis, vigiliis**. Observe the difference of meaning; *garrisons, guards, watches*.

36. Tandem, *I pray*. See note, p. 1, line 1.—**Noctem illam superiorem**, *that former night*, i. e., the night before the last, called on the next page, line 2, *priore nocte*.

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2. Quam te; G. 551, I. 5.—**Dico.** Observe its emphatic position. 4
G. 594, I.

3. Inter falcarios, *into the street of the scythe-makers*, lit. *among the scythe-makers.*—**In domum**, *into the house.* *Domum* alone would be less definite, *to the house.*

5. Socios; Subject of *convenisse.*

8. Ubinam gentium, *where in the world.* G. 396, III. 2, 4), (2).

10. In hoc consilio, *in this council*, i. e., the senate.

11. Nostro omnium interitu, *the destruction of us all.* *Omnium* agrees with the genitive *nostri* implied in *nostro.* G. 397, 3. Instead of *nostro*, the genitive *nostrum* might have been used.

13. Cogitent; Subj. of Result. G. 501, I.—**Hosce.** Observe the force of *ce*, *these before me, these here.* G. 186, 2.—**Sententiam rogo**, *I ask their opinion*, i. e., I invite them in common with other senators to participate in the discussion. This was the usual formula in calling for the opinion of senators upon any question under discussion. G. 374.

15. Igitur, *then*, i. e., to resume. The orator here resumes the topic which was interrupted by the exclamation, *O dii immortales!*

16. Distribuisti, *you assigned*, i. e., to your several accomplices.—**Quo...placeret**; Indirect Question, object of *statuisti.* G. 525; 525, 2.

17. Romae; G. 423, II.—**Relinquerēs**; Potential Subjunctive. G. 485.

20. Etiam nunc, *even now*, i. e., at the time of the remark. These words of the direct discourse (paululum mihi est *etiam nunc* morae) are retained in the indirect, instead of being changed to *etiam tum*, which might have been used. G. 533, 2.—**Morae**; Partitive Genitive depending upon *paululum*, which is the subject of *esse.*—**Quod ego viverem**; in apposition with *paululum.* G. 363, 5. On Mood, see G. 529.—**Duo equites**, *two knights*, i. e., members of the equestrian order, *C. Cornelius* and *L. Vargunteius*, according to Sallust, though he calls the latter a senator. See Sall. Cat., 28.

21. Qui liberarent. Explain Mood. G. 501, I.—**Te cura.** Construction? G. 425, 3, 2).—**Illa ipsa nocte.** They *offered* to do it *that very night*, but whether the attempt was actually made on that night, or on the following, is still an unsettled question.

23. Vixdum etiam, *scarcely yet.* See note on *etiam*, p. 1, line 2. —**Coetu.** Construction? G. 431.

24. Comperi. He obtained his information from Curius. See Introduction, p. 138.

25. Salutatum; G. 569. Distinguished Romans and magistrates

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4 were in the habit of receiving visits at a very early hour, especially from their clients.

26. Quum venissent; G. 518, II.—**Multis ac summis**, *many most eminent.* G. 440, 1.

27. Id temporis=eo tempore; G. 438, 5; 380, 2.

V. *An Exhortation to Catiline to leave the City.*

28. Quum sint; G. 518, I.—**Coepisti.** Supply *pergere.*

30. Illa, *that*, i. e., the one already mentioned. See note **on** *castra*, p. 2, line 28.

31. Educ; G. 237, 2.—**Si minus**, *if not all*, lit., *if less*, i. e., less than all. G. 584, 3. Supply *omnes educis.*—**Quam plurimos**; G. 170, 2, (2). Supply *educ.*

32. Metu; G. 425, 3, 2).

33. Me atque te. This is the usual Latin order in the arrangement of pronouns, the first person preceding the second, and the second the third.—**Murus**; See Syn. L. C., 377.—**Intersit**; G. 503, I.

34. Feram, patiar, sinam. These three synonymes, *to bear, suffer, permit*, form a climax. The first expresses simple endurance without assuming any authority, the second endurance with authority, the third authority emphatically; *I will not permit it.*

35. Habenda est gratia, *gratitude is due*, lit., *is to be had*, i. e, felt, entertained. See Syn. L. C., 548.—**Atque**, *and especially.* G. 587, I. 2.—**Huic ipsi Jovi**, *this very Jupiter*, i. e., this Jupiter in whose temple we are assembled.—**Jovi Statori**, *Jupiter Stator*, i. e., Jupiter the stayer, so called, according to Livy, because he was supposed to have stayed the flight of the Romans under Romulus in their struggle with the Sabines.

5 **1. Rei publicae pestem**, *a curse to the republic*, lit., *of.* G. 393, 1; 396, II.

2. Toties. Catiline commenced his revolutionary schemes three years before. See Introduction, p. 137.—**In uno homine**, *in the case of one man*, i. e., Catiline, though some suppose Cicero is meant.

5. Proximis comitiis consularibus, *at the last consular election.* Abl. of Time; G. 426. This election was held on the 28th of October. See Introduction, p. 139.

6. Campo. The Campus Martius, where the elections were held, is meant. Supply *Martio.*—**Competitores tuos.** These were D. Junius Silanus, L. Licinius Murena, and Servius Sulpicius. Silanus and Murena were elected.

9. Me petisti, *aimed at me*, i. e., at me and not at the state.—**Per**

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me, *by my own efforts*, i. e., without seeking or employing the aid of the 5
state.—**Tibi**; G. 386.

11. Rei publicae, *to the republic;* Objective Genitive. G. 393, 1; 396, II.—**Esse conjunctam**, *was joined.* The perfect participle with *sum*, is sometimes thus used to denote the *result* of a completed action; it *had been* joined with, and as a result *remained connected with.* G. 575, 1.—**Nunc jam**, *now already.*

12. Universam. *Universus* denotes the *whole* as embracing *all* the parts; *totus* the *whole* as a *unit* without any reference to its parts. See *totam*, line 14 below.

13. Vitam, *the lives.* Here the Latin uses the singular, though the English requires the plural.

14. Ad exitium vocas, *you doom to destruction*, lit., *call*, etc.

15. Quod est primum, *which is first*, i. e., the first and most obvious thing to do, viz., to put Catiline to death.

16. Hujus imperii, *of this authority*, i. e., which I possess, referring not merely to the consular authority, but also to the extraordinary powers recently conferred upon him by the senate for the safety of the state. For construction, see G. 399, 3, 3).

17. Ad, *as to, in point of.*

20. Quod; this pronoun refers to the act of leaving the city, as expressed by *exieris.* For construction, see G. 374, 5.—**Jam dudum hortor**; G. 467, 2.

21. Tuorum comitum sentina rei publicae, *the dregs of the republic* (consisting of) *your companions.* On the use of two genitives with the same noun, see G. 397, 2. *Comitum* is a Genitive of Specification, and may be rendered like an Appositive. G. 396, V.

23. Quod faciebas, *which you were doing*, i. e., were preparing to do, viz., to leave the city. See p. 4, line 18; *confirmasti te ipsum jam esse exiturum.*—**Tua sponte**; G. 414, 2.—**Jubet consul hostem**; a much more forcible and emphatic command than *te jubeo*, as it sets forth on the one hand the authority of Cicero, and on the other the guilt of Catiline.

VI.—VIII. *Reasons why Catiline should go into Exile.*

26. Enim, *for*, introducing the reasons for the advice which Cicero gives.—**Quod possit**; G. 501, I.

27. Extra, *outside of.*

29. Inusta, *burned into;* a figurative expression, taken perhaps, from the branding of vicious slaves.

30. Vitae tuae; G. 386.—**Privatarum rerum dedecus**, *disgrace resting upon* (lit. *of*) *your private life.* *Privatae* is more compre-

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5 hensive than *domesticae*, used in the line above. *Privatae res* embraces the whole private life, while *domesticae res* is confined to that part of it which directly affects the family.

31. Libido, facinus, flagitium. Observe the force of the words in this climax.

33. Quem irretisses, *whom you had ensnared.* G. 501, I.

34. Ad libidinem facem, *a torch for his lust.* In the streets of Rome a slave usually carried a torch before his master at night, to light him on his way. The allusion in the text is doubtless to this custom. Catiline, Cicero means to say, is leading the young into scenes of debauchery and crime.

35. Quum vacuefecisses; G. 518, II.—**Morte**, *by the death;* Abl. of Means, not Time, implying that Catiline murdered her.

36. Nuptiis; Dative.—**Alio incredibili scelere**, i. e., the murder of his son.

6 **1. Quod**; object of *praetermitto* and subject of *sileri.*

2. Ne videatur; Negative Purpose.

4. Praetermitto...omnes, *I pass by the complete ruin of your fortunes, which. Omnes*, though agreeing with *quas*, really belongs in sense to the antecedent. G. 453, 5.

5. Proximis Idibus, *upon the next Ides*, i. e., in six days. This oration was delivered on the seventh of November, accordingly the next Ides would be the thirteenth of the same month. Catiline was heavily in debt, and would be called upon on the Ides either to pay at once, or, at the latest, on the Calends (i. e., the first) of the following month.

6. Quae. Subject of *pertinent.*

7. Domesticam difficultatem, *domestic difficulty*, i. e., pecuniary embarrassment.

8. Summam rem publicam, *the highest public welfare.*

10. Spiritus, *breath.*

11. Jucundus. See Syn. L. C. 216.—**Horum**, *of these*, i. e., of the senators.—**Qui nesciat.** The Subjunctive would be required even in the direct discourse. G. 501, I.

12. Pridie Kalendas; G. 437, 1.—**Lepido et Tullo consulibus**; Manius Lepidus and Volcatius Tullus, consuls in the year 66 B. C.

13. Stetisse cum telo, *stood armed.* He and his accomplices had formed the design of assassinating Cotta and Torquatus, the consuls-elect. See Introduction, p. 138.—**In comitio.** The *comitium* was a part of the Roman forum.

15. Non mentem...tuum, *no intention or fear on your part.* The plan failed in consequence of a mistake on the part of Catiline, who gave the signal before his accomplices were ready for action.

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17. Commissa; subject of *sunt*, with *obscura* and *non multa* as predicate, *neither obscure nor few*. **Non multa**, *not many — few*. G. 705, VI. 6

18. Designatum. Supply *consulem*.

19. Petitiones, *thrusts*, the technical term for the thrusts of the gladiator.

20. Ut...viderentur, *that it seemed impossible to avoid them*, lit., *that they seemed not to be able to be avoided*.—**Declinatione et corpore** = *declinatione corporis*, technical language drawn from fencing or from the gladiatorial combats. The technical character of the language is also shown by the words, *ut aiunt*.

22. Tibi de manibus; Latin idiom instead of *de manibus tuis*. G. 398, 5.

23. Excidit et elapsa est; G. 704, IV.

24. Quae, *this*; G. 453.—**Abs te**; G. 434, 3.—**Devota sit**; Indirect Question. Among the ancients, weapons were sometimes thus set apart for some definite use by solemn vows and rites.

25. Necesse; Predicate adjective with *esse*, whose subject is *defigere*.

27. Nunc vero, *now indeed*, in view of what has been said.—**Enim**, *for*. The impassioned oratory of the preceding chapter now gives place to a more calm and argumentative style.

28. Ut videar; G. 494.—**Permotus esse**. Why not *permotum esse?* G. 547, I. 2.—**Quo debeo**. Supply *permotus esse*.

29. Ut misericordia. Supply *permotus esse videar*.—**Quae nulla**. *Quae nulla*, more forcible than *quae non*, may be rendered, *none of which*, or *which not at all*. G. 457, 3.—**Paulo ante**, *a little while ago, just now*.

30. Ex hac tanta frequentia, *out of this so large assembly*, i. e., of senators.

31. Hoc, *this*, i. e., to receive no greeting.—**Post memoriam**, *within the recollection*, lit., *after, since*.

32. Vocis contumeliam, *the disgrace of an expressed rebuke*, lit., *of the voice*.

33. Judicio taciturnitatis. This refers to the fact that no greeting welcomed him to his accustomed place in the senate. Observe the arrangement of the words: *vocis contumeliam, judicio taciturnitatis*. G. 595.—**Quum sis oppressus**; G. 518, II.—**Quid, quod**, *what of the fact that*.

34. Ista subsellia, *the seats near you*; G. 450. The seats of the senators are called *subsellia*, low seats, in contrast with the high curule chair of the consul.—**Quod omnes...putas**. Begin with the interrog-

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6 ative *quo: With what feeling, pray?* The clauses with *quod* are in apposition with *hoc*, p. 7, line 1. G. 363, 5.

35. Tibi; G. 388, 1, 1).—**Constituti fuerunt.** Here *fuerunt* is used instead of the more common *sunt* to suggest that these plans of Catiline have been defeated. G. 471, 1.

36. Simul atque, *as soon as.* G. 587, I. 2.

7 **2. Tibi ferendum.** Supply *esse.* G. 388, 1, 1).—**Servi mei.** Why placed before *si.* G. 602, III. 1.—**Si metuerent**; G. 510.—**Isto pacto**; more forcible than *ita*; Abl. of Manner.—**Isto pacto ut**, *as.*

4. Tibi urbem. Supply *relinquendam esse.*

5. Civibus; dependent upon *suspectum* and *offensum.* G. 391.—**Injuria**, *unjustly:* Abl. of Manner.

6. Carere aspectu, *to be removed from* (lit. *to be without*) *the sight.*—**Aspectu**; G. 419, III.

7. Conscientia, *from the consciousness;* Abl. of Cause.

8. Agnoscas; G. 518, I.—**Justum**, *as just*, predicate adjective.

11. Odissent. Why Pluperfect? G. 510; 297, I. 2.—**Nec** = *et non.* G. 587, I. 2.

12. Aliquo, *to some place;* adv.

13. Nunc. Here Cicero sets forth the real case which, it will be observed, is stronger even than the hypothetical one given above.

14. Jam diu judicat; G. 467, 2.—**Nihil**; the object of *cogitare*, of which *te* is the subject.—**Parricidio suo**, *her destruction.* The term *parricidium* is chosen, because the country is here personified as the parent of us all, *parens omnium nostrum.*

15. Hujus auctoritatem, *her authority.* *Hujus* = patriae.

16. Quae, *she.* G. 453.

17. Agit, *pleads.* The country personified is thus represented as pleading with Catiline.—**Tacita**, *though silent.* G. 442.

18. Aliquot annis, *for some years.* G. 426, 2, 2), (3).—**Per te, sine te.** Observe the difference in meaning.

19. Tibi; dependent upon *impunita.* G. 391.—**Multorum civium neces.** Catiline was a zealous partisan of Sulla during his bloody proscriptions.—**Vexatio direptioque sociorum**; i. e., while governor of Africa in the year 67 B. C. See Introduction, p. 137.

21. Ad negligendas leges valuisti, *you have been able to disregard the laws.*—**Quaestiones**, *prosecutions.*

22. Superiora illa, *those former deeds*, in contrast with the present conspiracy.

24. Me totam, *that I, the whole state*, in contrast with *unum te.* This and the two following infinitive clauses form the subject of *est ferendum.* G. 549.—**Quidquid increpuerit**, *whatever may have made a*

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noise, i. e., whenever any noise is heard; hence on every alarm, however slight; a proverbial expression.—**Increpuerit**; Potential Subjunctive. G. 485. 7

26. Abhorreat, *is free from*. G. 501.

27. Mihi; G. 384, II.; 386, 2.

28. Verus, *well grounded*. Supply *timor*.

30. Loquatur, debeat; G. 509.

31. Impetrare, *to obtain her request*, expressed above in *discede*, *eripe*, etc.—**Quid, quod**, *what of the fact that*. Lat. Comp. 482.

32. In custodiam dedisti. Persons suspected of treasonable designs sometimes placed themselves thus voluntarily in the custody of some influential citizen until their guilt or innocence could be established.

33. Ad M'. Lepidum, *at the house of Manius Lepidus*. The usual preposition in this sense is *apud*. Manius Lepidus was consul with Volcatius Tullus in the year 66 B. C. See p. 6, line 12.

35. Domi meae; G. 423, 3, 2); 424, 2.—**Quum tulisses**; G. 518, II.

36. Me nullo...contineremur; in apposition with *responsum*. G. 363, 5; 553, II.—**Iisdem parietibus**, *in the same house*, lit. *by the same house-walls*. G. 414.—**Parietibus, moenibus**. See Syn. L. C. 377.

1. Qui essem; G. 519. 8

2. Contineremur; G. 529.—**Q. Metellum**. Quintus Metellus Celer is meant. He subsequently took an active part in the military preparations made against Catiline. See p. 14, line 31. He was consul in the year 60 B. C.

3. Virum optimum. In irony.—**M. Metellum**; Marcus Metellus, probably the brother of Q. Metellus Creticus, a friend of Verres, praetor 69 B. C.

4. Quem tu videlicet...putasti. In irony.

7. Videtur. The subject is the pronoun *is*, the omitted antecedent of *qui*. G. 445, 6.—**Qui judicarit**; G. 501, I.

8. Custodia; G. 419, IV.

9. Emori, *to die*, as justice demands.

11. Multis justis debitisque; Lat. Comp. 166, 3.—**Suppliciis**; Dative; G. 386, 2.

12. Refer ad senatum, *refer the question to the senate*, the usual technical expression for the action of the consul in bringing a subject to the notice of the senate.—**Id**, *this*, i. e., that the subject be laid before the senate.

13. Hic ordo; i. e., the senate.—**Sibi placere**, *that it is their*

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8 *pleasure*, lit., *pleases them*, a common technical expression in the decrees of the senate.—**Decreverit**; Perf. Subj. for Fut. Perf. Ind. of the direct discourse. G. 532, 4.

15. Id quod; G. 445, 7.—**Abhorret a meis moribus**; i. e., I am too merciful, implying that if the question were referred to the senate a decree of banishment would be passed, whereas, without it, Catiline may go into *voluntary* exile..—**Ut intelligas**; Mixed Purpose after *faciam*. G. 492, 1.

16. Quid sentiant; Indirect Question.—**Hi**; i. e., the senators.

17. Metu; G. 425, 3, 2).—**Hanc vocem**; i. e., *exsilium*.

18. Quid est; uttered after a short pause, during which the silence of the senate shows their approval of the consul's course.—**Ecquid**, *at all;* interrogative adv.

20. Auctoritatem loquentium, *the spoken decree*, lit., *the authority* (command) *of those speaking.*—**Loquentium**; this agrees with *eorum*, the omitted antecedent of *quorum*.

22. Hoc idem, *this same thing*, i. e., *in exsilium proficiscere.*—**P. Sestio**; Publius Sestius, the quaestor, subsequently very active in procuring the recall of Cicero from exile.—**Si dixissem, intulisset**. G. 510.

23. M. Marcello. Marcus Marcellus, consul 51 B. C., a bitter opponent of Caesar, by whom he was pardoned in 46 B. C., upon which occasion Cicero delivered his *Oration for Marcellus*, contained in this volume. See p. 84.—**Consuli**, *though consul.*

24. Vim et manus, *violent hands*, lit., *violence and hands.* Hendiadys; G. 704, II. 2.

26. Hi, equites Romani, ceterique cives; subjects of *probant, decernunt, clamant*, understood. Observe that the orator specifies the three classes of Roman citizens, those of the senatorial rank (*hi, quorum*), those of the equestrian rank (*equites*), and the ordinary citizens (*ceteri cives*), i. e., the Senate, the Knights, and the People.

27. Videlicet cara. In irony.

30. Studia, *manifestations of zeal.* G. 130, 2; Lat. Comp. 412.—**Voces**, *voices*, doubtless in approval of the sentiments of the orator.—**Paulo ante.** Perhaps at the words *in exsilium proficiscere.*

31. Quorum ego, etc. Begin with the antecedent clause, *Eosdem facile*, etc.—**Abs te**; G. 434, 3.—**Jam diu contineo**; G. 467, 2.

32. Manus ac tela. These words refer, doubtless, to the armed guards stationed by the consul, as private citizens were not allowed to carry arms.—**Ut te prosequantur**, *to escort you.* Citizens going into voluntary exile were usually escorted to the city gates by their relatives and friends. Cicero sarcastically offers Catiline an armed escort.—

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Haec, *these things*, i. e., all these things which we see, buildings, temples, and, in fine, the city and state itself. 8

IX., X.—*Catiline is incorrigible. He will go, not into Exile, but to the Camp of Manlius.*

35. Quamquam, *and yet*, indicating a sudden transition in the course of thought. G. 516, I. 4.—**Ut frangat**; G. 495, 2, 2).—**Ulla**; G. 457.

36. Tu ut corrigas. Observe the emphatic position of the pronoun. G. 446; 602, III. 1.

1. Utinam duint; G. 239, 3; 488, 1 and 2.—**Istam mentem**, 9
such a purpose, i. e., to go into exile.

3. Animum induxeris, *you should determine. Induxeris*, Perf. Subj. from Fut. Perf. G. 532, 4.—**Quanta...impendeat**; Indirect Question, depending upon *video*. G. 525.—**Tempestas invidiae**, *a storm of hatred;* a figurative expression by no means uncommon.—**Nobis**; G. 446, 2.

4. Si minus, *if not*. G. 584, 3.—**Recenti memoria**, *from the fresh recollection*. Abl. of Cause. G. 414, 2.

5. At, *yet*.—**In posteritatem**, *for the future*.—**Est tanti**, *it is worth so much*, i. e., the end in view, the safety of the state, is worth all this sacrifice.

6. Sit privata, *may be confined to myself*, lit., *private, personal*. G. 503, I.—**Privata**; Pred. Adj.

7. Ut commoveare; Mixed Purpose, Subject of *est postulandum*.

8. Temporibus, *the exigencies*.

9. Ut revocaverit; G. 494; 481, I. 2.

10. Pudor, metus, ratio. These words correspond respectively to *ut commoveare* (that you should be moved, i. e., with shame), *ut pertimescas* and *ut cedas* in the preceding sentence.

12. Inimico, ut praedicas, tuo, *your enemy as you call me*. Why *inimico*, rather than *hosti?* Lat. Comp. 344.

14. Si id feceris, *if you do this*, i. e., go into exile, lit., *if you shall have done this*, Fut. Perf. to denote a future action completed before another future action, viz., that expressed by *feram*. See note on *fecerunt*, p. 3, line 8.—**Istius**, *that*, i. e., that incurred in consequence of my connection with you.

15. Servire, *subserve*.

18. Secerne te a bonis. In such cases the preposition is necessary before the Ablative of Separation denoting *persons*.

19. Impio latrocinio, *impious robbery;* G. 414.—**Ad alienos, ad tuos**, *to strangers, to friends*. G. 441, 1.

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9 **20. Videaris.** Is *videor* usually personal or impersonal? G. 549, 4, 1.)

21. Quid invitem, *why should I invite.* G. 486, II.—**A quo sciam,** *by whom I know;* Relative clause assigning a Reason, *since I know that by you.* G. 519.

22. Qui praestolarentur; G. 445, 6; 500.—**Ad,** *near.* G. 379, 1.—**Forum Aurelium**; a small market town on the Aurelian Way.

23. Cui; 388, 1. Perhaps *cui* is here used to avoid the frequent repetition of *a quo.*

24. Aquilam illam argenteam, *that silver eagle,* i. e., the well-known eagle which C. Marius is said to have had in the Cimbrian War. See Sallust Cat. 59. The silver eagle was the standard of the legion.

25. Esse; construe with *futuram.*—**Confido, constitutum fuit.** Why not in the Subj.? G. 531, 3.—**Cui,** *for which,* referring to *aquilam.*

26. Domi tuae; G. 423, 3, 2).—**Sacrarium scelerum tuorum,** *the sanctuary of your crimes.* The standard of the legion was kept in a small chapel near the tent of the commander. The eagle here mentioned was kept by Catiline in his own house, and, as it was to be used for criminal purposes, the place where it was kept is called the *sanctuary of crimes.*

27. Tu ut possis; G. 495, 2, 2).—**Illa**; i. e., aquila; G. 419, III.

28. A cujus altaribus, *from whose altar; altaribus,* singular in sense.

33. Haec res, *this fact,* i. e., his departure to the camp of Manlius, as the signal of civil war.—**Quandam**; G. 456, 2.

35. Nunquam...modo otium concupisti, *not only have you never desired peace.*

36. Nactus es, etc. Construe: Nactus es manum improborum conflatam ex perditis atque derelictis (*those utterly forsaken*) ab omni non modo fortuna, verum etiam spe.

10 **1. Ab fortuna, spe**; G. 414, 6.

3. Hic; i. e., in the camp of Manlius with your congenial associates and followers (*improborum manum*).—**Laetitia**; G. 419, I.—**Gaudiis**; Abl. of Cause.

4. Quum, *when.* G. 518, 3.

6. Ad hujus vitae studium, *for the pursuit of such a life.*—**Meditati sunt,** *were designed;* Passive.—**Qui feruntur,** *which are reported.*

7. Jacere, vigilare; in apposition with *labores.*

9. Insidiantem; agrees with *te,* the omitted subject of *vigilare. Insidiantem somno maritorum* illustrates *ad obsidendum stuprum,* and *insidiantem bonis otiosorum* illustrates *ad facinus cbeundum.*

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10. Habes, ubi ostentes, *you have an opportunity to show,* lit., 10 *where you may show.* G. 501, I. 1.

11. Quibus; refers to *famis, frigoris, inopiae.*

12. Tempore; G. 426, 2, 2), (3).—**Tum quum,** *at the time when.*

13. A consulatu. Why not *e consulatu?* Because he was kept *from* (a, ab) the consulship, but was not turned *out of* (e, ex) it, as he was never in it.—**Reppuli**; the approved form instead of *repuli.* For an account of Cicero's resolute bearing at the consular election, see Introduction, p. 139.—**Ut posses**; Mixed Result after *tantum.*—**Exsul, consul,** *as exile, as consul,* in apposition with the omitted subject of *posses.* G. 363, 2 and 3.

XI., XII.—*Reasons for allowing Catiline to leave the City, though his Crimes deserve Death.*

17. Nunc, patres conscripti. Cicero now addresses the senate. —**Ut a me detester ac deprecer,** *that I may solemnly refute and avert from myself. Querimoniam detestari* is to answer a complaint by solemnly calling the gods to witness our innocence and the truth of our statement, while *querimoniam deprecari* is to pray earnestly that the complaint may no longer be made.

19. Quaeso; old form for *quaero,* chiefly used parenthetically, as in this instance.—**Quae dicam.** Supply *ea,* as the antecedent of *quae.* G. 501, I.—**Animis, mentibus.** See Syn. L. C. 355.

20. Etenim. This properly belongs to the conclusion of this conditional sentence, but as the condition with the quotation which it contains extends to the end of the chapter, that which would otherwise have been the conclusion is made an independent sentence at the beginning of the next chapter: *His...respondebo.* This personification of the country, calling her servant Cicero to account for his doings, has been much admired.

21. Vita mea multo; G. 417; 418.

22. Loquatur; G. 509.—**Tulli**; G. 45, 5, 2).—**Tune**; *tu* subject of *patiere, ne* interrogative particle.

25. Evocatorem servorum. Catiline seems at first to have intended to enlist the slaves in his cause, but he subsequently abandoned the plan.

27. Immissus in urbem; because he may be expected to return to the city with an armed force.

29. Mactari, *to be visited, punished.* After *impero,* Cicero uses the infinitive only in the passive. The common construction is the Subjunctive with *ut, ne,* etc.

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10 **30. Mosne majorum?** Supply *te impedit.* The country personified proceeds to consider the three excuses which the consul might urge for not having put Catiline to death: the custom of his ancestors, the laws, and the dread of unpopularity.—**At...multarunt.** The answer to the first ground of defence.—**Persaepe privati.** We have undoubtedly a rhetorical exaggeration in the use of *persaepe* and of the plural *privati.* The only illustration which Cicero gives us is P. Scipio, pontifex maximus. See p. 1, line 20.

31. An leges. The second ground of defence, that the laws—the Valerian, the Porcian, and the Sempronian—forbade that a Roman citizen should be put to death without the sanction of the people.—**Quae rogatae sunt,** *which have been enacted. Legem rogare* is the common formula in putting the question on the passage of a law: hence *to enact a law.*

32. At nunquam. The answer to the second ground of defence: "But," says the country, "those who have withdrawn their allegiance from the state are no longer citizens."

34. Praeclaram vero...gratiam, *remarkable gratitude in truth you show;* in irony. See Syn. L. C. 548, 3.

35. Per te cognitum, *known by yourself alone,* i. e., by your own exertions, instead of being recommended to popular favor by illustrious ancestry. Cicero was the first of his family who attained any of the higher offices of state.

36. Tam mature, *so early.* Cicero was elected to the consulship at the age of forty-two, the earliest age at which any citizen was eligible to that high office.

11 **1. Summum imperium**; i. e., the consulship.—**Per omnes gradus**; i. e., the quaestorship, aedileship, praetorship, and consulship.

4. Severitatis invidia, *unpopularity incurred by severity,* lit., *of severity.*

7. Invidiae incendio conflagraturum. A figurative expression suggested by *tecta ardebunt.*

8. His...respondebo. See note on *etenim,* p. 10, line 20.—**Eorum mentibus,** *the thoughts of those.*

9. Hoc idem; i. e., that Catiline ought to be put to death.

10. Optimum factu, *the best thing to do.*—**Optimum**; G. 373, 3.—**Factu**; G. 570.—**Judicarem, non dedissem,** *if I judged* (both then and now), *I would not have given.* The Imperfect is used in the condition, in preference to the Pluperfect, to show that his judgment still remains unchanged. G. 510; 510, 1.

11. Catilinam...multari; in apposition with *hoc.*—**Gladiatori**; a term of reproach.

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13. Saturnini et Gracchorum. See p. 1, line 21, and p. 2, lines 14 and 17; also notes on *P. Scipio*, p. 1, line 20; on *C. Gracchus*, p. 2, line 14; and *C. Mario*, p. 2, line 16.—**Flacci.** See note on *M. Fulvius*, p. 2, line 15.—**Superiorum complurium**, *of many men of former times.* 11

14. Sed etiam honestarunt, *but even distinguished themselves.*

15. Verendum...erat, *I had no reason to fear.* G. 388.

16. Parricida; Abl. Absol.—**Invidiae**; Partitive Genitive with *quid.*

17. Quod si, *but if.* G. 453, 6.—**Ea**; i. e., *invidia.*—**Si impenderet.** Observe that *hoc animo semper fui* is only in appearance the conclusion from this condition, the real conclusion is *hoc animo essem*, readily supplied from it. G. 512, 2, 2).

18. Hoc animo; Abl. of Characteristic.—**Ut invidiam...putarem**, *to regard* (that I regarded) *unpopularity incurred by virtue as glory, not unpopularity.*

20. Qui videant. G. 501, I.

22. Qui aluerunt, *and these have confirmed*, an independent statement with the Indicative, and not, like *qui videant*, a mere relative clause defining an indefinite antecedent. G. 453.

23. Non credendo, *by not believing*, i. e., by not crediting the charges against Catiline.

24. Non solum improbi...imperiti, *not only the bad, but also the ignorant. Improbi* and *imperiti*, used substantively, are in apposition with *multi.* G. 363, 4.

25. Si in hunc animadvertissem, *if I had punished him*, a common technical expression, lit., *had turned my attention to* (against) *him.* Here the condition (*animadvertissem*) relates to past time, but the conclusion (*dicerent*) belongs to the present. G. 510, 1.

26. Regie, *tyrannically.* The Romans under the commonwealth, with their traditional hatred of kings, often used the term in this sense.—**Quo intendit.** Supply *pervenire.*—**Quo**, *whither*, i. e., *in Manliana castra.*

27. Pervenerit. Mood and Tense? What would be used in the Direct Discourse? G. 532, 4.

29. Hoc uno; i. e., Catiline.

30. Hanc pestem; i. e., the conspiracy.—**Paulisper reprimi ...comprimi posse**, *may be checked for a short time, not suppressed forever.*

31. Se ejecerit. Supply *ex urbe.*—**Ejecerit**; Fut. Perf., because the action is to be completed at the time denoted by *exstinguetur.*

33. Naufragos, *ruined followers*, lit., *shipwrecked.*

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XIII.— *Conclusion.*

36. Jam diu; i. e., from the time when Catiline, three years before, presented himself as a candidate for the consulship.

12 **1. Nescio quo pacto**, *in some way*, lit., *I know not in what way.* This modifies *erupit*, the principal verb. G. 525, 4.

2. Omnium scelerum maturitas, *the full development of all crimes.*

3. Ex tanto latrocinio, *from so large a band of robbers*; the abstract for the concrete.

5. Cura, metu. Abl. of Separation.

6. In venis atque in visceribus, *in the veins and in the vitals.* By a natural metaphor, the state is here represented as a human body. Observe the repetition of the preposition *in*, which has nearly the same effect as in English.

7. Aegri morbo gravi, *sick with a severe disease.* G. 414, 1.

10. Hic morbus, qui est, etc. Why not *hic morbus in re publica*, as in English? Lat. Comp. 417; 420.

11. Vivis reliquis, *if the rest* (of the conspirators) *remain alive.* Abl. Absol. G. 431, 2.

12. Secedant; Subj. of Desire. G. 487.—**A bonis.** See note on *secerne te a bonis*, p. 9, line 18.

13. Id quod...dixi, *as* (lit., *that which*) *I have already often said. Id* is in apposition with the clause, *muro denique discernantur a nobis.* G. 445, 7.

15. Circumstare...praetoris urbani; i. e., to intimidate him in the discharge of his duties. The *praetor urbanus* had jurisdiction in judicial questions between citizens, while cases in which one or both of the parties were foreigners were referred to the *praetor peregrinus.*

16. Malleolos, *fire-darts.* In form these weapons resembled hammers, hence the name. They were made up largely of pitch and tow, and were set on fire before they were hurled.

17. Sit inscriptum, *let it be written*; Subj. of Desire. Here the attention is directed, not so much to the *act* of writing, as to the *result* of that act, hence the Perfect tense. The subject of *sit inscriptum* is the Indirect Question, *quid...sentiat.* G. 525, 2.

19. Tantam...fore diligentiam; in apposition with *hoc.*

24. Hisce ominibus, *with these omens*, i. e., with such prospects as those indicated in the last sentence.

25. Cum tua...pernicie, *with your own ruin and destruction* (*sure*).

27. Tu, Juppiter. As this oration was delivered in the Temple of Jupiter Stator, these words were doubtless addressed to the statue of

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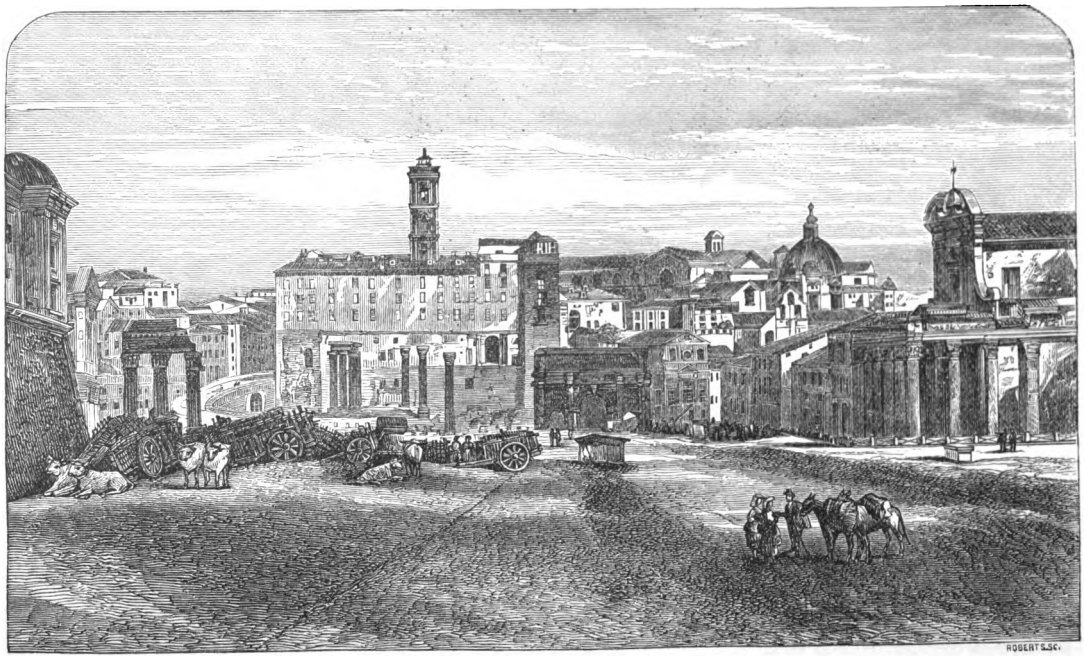

THE ROMAN FORUM.

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that god.—**Qui es constitutus**, *whose worship was established*, lit., who 12
wast established. *Haec urbs* is the subject of *constituta est*, to be supplied.—**Iisdem...auspiciis**, *with the same auspices with which this city was founded.* During a fierce battle with the Sabines, Romulus is said to have vowed a temple to Jupiter, under the title of Jupiter Stator, if he would stay the flight of the Romans.

29. Statorem, *the stay*, or *defender*, an application of one the names of the god, *Jupiter Stator*.—**Hunc**, *this one*, i. e., Catiline.

31. Homines; object of *mactabis*.

32. Inimicos, hostes. How do these words differ in meaning? Lat. Comp., 344.

34. Vivos mortuosque. Observe that a future existence is assumed as certain.

SECOND ORATION AGAINST CATILINE, DELIVERED BEFORE THE PEOPLE IN THE FORUM, ON THE EIGHTH OF NOVEMBER, 63 B. C.*

ANALYSIS.

I. Introduction. I.
II. Cicero's Defence:
1. Against the Charge of too Great Leniency in having allowed Catiline to leave the City. II.—V.
2. Against the Charge of too Great Severity in having driven Catiline into Exile. VI., VII.
III. The Forces of Catiline. VIII.—X.
IV. The Forces of the Republic in Contrast with these. XI.
V. Conclusion. XII., XIII.

I. *Introduction. Cicero congratulates the People on the Departure of Catiline.*

1. Quirites, *citizens.* This term designates Roman citizens in their 13
civil capacity.

4. Vel ejecimus, vel...vel. G. 587, II. 2. The orator speaks as if in doubt how to designate the part which he has acted in bringing about the departure of Catiline. *Ejicio* is to drive away, *emitto* to allow to go; while *ipsum egredientem verbis prosequor* is not only to allow to

* See also Introduction, p. 140.

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13 go, but to escort to the gate. See note on *Ut te prosequantur*, p. 8, line 32. But, instead of the usual kind farewell, the words (*verbis*) here referred to are words of execration. Perhaps *verbis* refers to the closing paragraph in the first oration; *Hisce ominibus*, etc.—**Ipsum egredientem**, *going of his own accord*, lit., *going himself.*

5. **Abiit...erupit.** A climax expressive of exultant joy. The asyndeton adds to the effect. G. 704, I. 1. **Abeo**, *to go away*, gives the simple idea of departure, **excedo**, *to withdraw*, adds the idea of escape, **evadere**, *to escape*, is used especially of *flight* by night, or in secret, and **erumpere**, *to break away*, involves the use of violent or forcible means.

6. **A monstro illo**, *by that monster*, i. e., by Catiline.—**Moenibus ipsis**, *against the city itself.* *Moenia*, properly designating the walls of a city, is sometimes used of the city itself.

8. **Sine controversia**, *without doubt.*

9. **Non jam**, *no longer*, lit., *not now*, i. e., as before.—**Sica illa.** Mentioned on p. 6, line 22; *Quoties tibi jam extorta est sica ista de manibus.*

10. **In campo**; i. e., in the Campus Martius. See p. 5, line 6.—**In foro.** See p. 6, line 12; *te pridie Kalendas Januarias stetisse in comitio cum telo.* The *comitium*, it must be remembered, was a part of the Forum.—**In curia.** See p. 12, line 15; *Desinant obsidere cum gladiis curiam.*—**Intra domesticos parietes**, *within the walls of our houses*, referring to the plot to assassinate Cicero in his own house. See p. 4, line 22.

11. **Pertimescemus**; intransitive.—**Loco motus est**, *was dislodged from his position*, i. e., from the strong position which he held before; a military expression. G. 425, 3, 3).

12. **Nullo impediente**; Abl. Absol. Why is *nullus* used instead of *nemo?* G. 457, 2.

14. **Ex occultis...latrocinium**, *from secret plots into open robbery.* *Occultis* with *insidiis* is nearly or quite pleonastic, but is used to balance *apertum.* See Lat. Comp. 615; 615, V.

15. **Quod vero.** *Vero* (but) is the general connective of the whole sentence, while *quod* (because or that) only connects its own clause to *esse afflictum et profligatum.* Construe thus: *Vero quanto...putatis, quod non...extulit, quod...egressus est*, etc.—**Quod non...extulit**, *because he did not carry away his dagger bloody*, i. e., because he had not made it bloody by assassinating Cicero. Observe the emphatic position of *cruentum*, which has the force of a *predicate* adjective. The same remark also applies to *vivis*, *incolumes*, and *stantem.*

16. **Vivis nobis**; Abl. Absol.

17. **Ei e manibus.** See note on *tibi de manibus*, p. 6, line 22.

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18. Incolumes. See Syn. L. C. 321. 13

21. Retorquet oculos, e faucibus ereptam. Catiline is here compared to a wild beast which looks wishfully back at the prey which has been rescued from it.

1. Quam...ereptam esse, *whose rescue from his jaws he mourns,* 14 lit., *which to have been snatched from his jaws he mourns.* The clause cannot, of course, be literally rendered; we may, however, say, *which he mourns to see snatched from his jaws.*—**Quae quidem laetari mihi videtur**; contrasted with *quam e...luget.*—**Quae**; i. e., *haec urbs.*

2. Quod evomuerit. The city's reason for rejoicing. Hence the Subj. G. 520, II.

II.—V. *Cicero's Defence against the Charge of too Great Leniency in having allowed Catiline to leave the City.*

4. Quales ..oportebat. This remark, though parenthetical, is very significant. The force of the Imperfect should be especially noticed, as expressing an obligation belonging both to the past and to the present; *as all ought to have been*, i. e., during the whole time. By this remark, Cicero suggests the first point in his defence, because, had all been such, Catiline's arrest and execution would have been an easy matter. The great difficulty in the case was the fact that the senators were divided in opinion on that question.

5. In hoc ipso, *in this very thing*, explained by *quod...emiserim.*

6. Quod ... comprehenderim. Upon whose authority is this reason assigned? G. 520, II. What would be the force of the Indicative? G. 520, I

7. Non...mea culpa. By a common ellipsis, admissible both in Latin and in English, this appears as the conclusion of the condition, *si quis*, etc. The real conclusion, however, is something like this: *My defence is this*, or *I reply.*—**Culpa**; Predicate noun.

8. Temporum. Supply *culpa.*—**Interfectum esse...affectum**; G. 704, IV. 2.

9. Idque, *and this*, i. e., the execution of Catiline.—**A me.** Why, not the Accus.? G. 374, 3, 4).

10. Hujus imperii. See note on *hujus imperii*, p. 5, line 15.—**Res publica,** *the public weal.*

11. Postulabat; G. 463, I.—**Qui...non crederent,** *who did not believe.* See p. 11, lines 20 to 25. G. 501, I.

12. Defenderent. Supply *ea.*

13. Illo sublato; Abl. Absol., *by his* (Catiline's) *removal.*

14. Non modo invidiae...periculo, *not only at the risk of un-*

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14 *popularity, but at the peril of life.* Observe that with *invidiae, periculo* should be rendered *risk*, but with *vitae, peril.*—**Invidiae meae**, lit., *my unpopularity*, may be rendered *unpopularity to me*, or simply as above, *unpopularity.*—**Periculo**; Abl. of Manner.

16. Ne vobis quidem...probata, *as the fact* (i. e., the existence of a conspiracy) *even then was not proved to all even of you* (to you all).—**Ne vobis quidem**; G. 602, III. 2.—**Re probata**; Abl. Absol.

17. Si morte multassem, *if I should punish with death. Multassem*, changed from the Fut. Perf. of the Direct Discourse. G. 532, 4.—**Fore ut non possem.** Why is this circumlocution here used? G. 544, 1.

18. Rem huc deduxi, *I brought the matter to this point.*

21. Quem quidem...putem, *and indeed how greatly I think this enemy*, etc. Indirect question, object of *intelligatis.*—**Quam vehementer.** Ironical.—**Putem.** See Syn. L. C. 576.

22. Intelligatis; Subj. of Mixed Result, with *ut* omitted, after *licet* the leading verb of the sentence.—**Hinc**, *from this*, viz., *quod etiam moleste fero.*

23. Quod exierit. The Subjunctive rests the statement upon report, and not upon the authority of the speaker.—**Parum comitatus**, *too little attended*, or more freely, *with too few attendants.* According to Plutarch, Catiline went to the Camp of Manlius with a force of three hundred armed men, but this estimate probably includes those who were to meet him at Forum Aurelium. See p. 9, line 22.

24. Utinam eduxisset; G. 488, 1 and 2.—**Tongilium, Publicium, Munatium.** These men are known only as worthless characters, and as the companions of Catiline.

25. Mihi; Ethical Dative, here used in sarcastic irony. G. 389.—**In praetexta**, *in boyhood*, i. e., in the boyhood of Tongilius. The *toga praetexta* was the gown worn by boys until they assumed the *toga virilis* at the age of seventeen.

26. Aes alienum, *debt*, lit., *copper* (i. e., *copper money*) *belonging to another.*

27. Nullum rei...motum...poterat. The petty debts of these men would not make them reckless and desperate.—**Reliquit quos viros!** Catiline left his best men in Rome. Many of them were overwhelmed in debt (*quanto aere alieno*) and therefore reckless. Many were also influential (*valentes*) and of noble birth (*nobiles*).—**Rei publicae**; Indirect object of *afferre.*

28. Aere alieno; Abl. of Characteristic. G. 428.—**Nobiles.** See Syn. L. C. 233.

30. Exercitum; Object of *contemno.*—**Prae Gallicanis legio-**

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nibus, *in comparison with our Gallic legions*, i. e., our legions in Cisalpine 14
Gaul. G. 326, 2. Construe in this order: *Itaque prae Gallicanis legionibus . . . comparantur, ego magno opere contemno illum exercitum collectum*, etc.

31. Quem Q. Metellus habuit, *which Q. Metellus made*, lit., *had, held.* Quintus Metellus Celer, the praetor, had been recently sent into Picenum and the Gallic province to levy troops. The Gallic province here referred to was situated on the Adriatic Sea, between Cisalpine Gaul and Picenum.

33. Magno opere, *greatly*, also written as one word, *magnopere.*

34. Ex agresti luxuria, *from rustic luxury*, for *from luxurious rustics;* the abstract for the concrete.

35. Vadimonia deserere . . . exercitum, *to forfeit their bail rather than to leave that army. Vadimonia deserere* is *to fail to appear in court on the appointed day of trial, and thus to forfeit bail.*

36. Quibus ego . . . si — *qui . . . si iis ego.* — **Non modo aciem**, *not to say the array.*

1. Edictum praetoris, *the edict of the praetor.* The *praetor urba-* 15
nus, on entering upon the duties of his office, ordinarily issued a decree setting forth the principles which would govern him in his decisions. This edict would naturally set forth the consequences of forfeiting bail. — **Hos**; Object of *eduxisset.*

3. Qui fulgent purpura, *who shine in purple;* i. e., senators and knights. The toga of the former was distinguished by a broad purple stripe or border (*clavus latus*); that of the latter by a narrow stripe (*clavus angustus*). — **Mallem . . . eduxisset**, *I would wish* (lit., *prefer*) *that he had taken with him as his soldiers.* G. 493, 2.

5. Esse nobis. Supply *pertimescendum.* G. 388.

6. Hoc, *on this account;* Abl. of Cause, explained by the clause, *quod . . . sentiunt.*

7. Cogitent, scire, sentiunt. What is the direct object of each of these verbs? — **Sentiunt.** See Syn. L. C. 576.

8. Cui sit Apulia attributa. According to Sallust, Catiline assigned Apulia to C. Julius. But see Third Oration, p. 30, line 16.

9. Quis habeat Etruriam; i. e., Manlius. — **Quis agrum Picenum**; i. e., a certain Septimius of Umbria, according to Sallust. We are not told to whom the Gallic district was assigned.

10. Quis . . . insidias caedis . . . depoposcerit. Cicero probably has L. Cassius in mind. See Third Oration, p. 30, lines 14 and 15; *L. Cassium, qui sibi procurationem incendendae urbis depoposcerat.* Sallust, however, names three in this connection — Cethegus, Gabinius, and Statilius.

11. Superioris noctis; i. e., the night on which the meeting was

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15 held at the house of **Laeca**, called also in the First Oration *noctem illam superiorem*. See p. 3, line 36; also p. 4, lines 15 to 27.

12. Patefeci. Supply *ea*, referring to *consilia*.

13. Hi quid. Observe the emphatic position of *hi* before the interrogative *quid*.—**Ne**, *indeed, truly;* the approved form for *nae*.

15. Futuram. Supply *esse*.

16. Quod exspectavi, *that for which I have been waiting.* The antecedent of *quod* is *ut vos...videretis*.—**Ut videretis**; Subj. of Mixed Purpose. G. 492, 1; 482, 1.—**Vos omnes.** Why not *vestrum omnes?* G. 396, III. 2, 2), (1).

18. Nisi si, *except if*, render *unless*.—**Catilinae similes,** *those like Catiline.* G. 399, 3, 2).

19. Putet; G. 501, I.—**Lenitati**; Dative of Possessor.

21. Exeant; Subj. of Desire. This line explains *unum* in the preceding line.—**Desiderio sui,** *with grief at their absence. Desiderium* is *a longing for, mingled with grief at the loss or absence of. Desiderio*, Abl. of Cause; *sui*, Objective Genitive, referring to the subject of *patiantur*.

22. Miserum tabescere, *to pine away in misery. Miserum*, though an adjective agreeing with *Catilinam*, may be thus rendered like an adverb. G. 443, (1).—**Iter, via.** See Syn. L. C. 156.—**Aurelia via**; Abl. of Means. This road led along the coast of Etruria to Pisa. Catiline went by this route to the camp of Manlius.

24. Rem publicam; G. 381.—**Si quidem ejecerit**; Potential Subjunctive. G. 486, 1.

25. Exhausto. This word is appropriate in connection with the figure contained in *sentinam*.

28. Quis veneficus, *what poisoner. Quis*, though more commonly used *substantively*, may be used *adjectively*, when, as in this case, the inquiry relates, not to the *character* of the person or thing, but to the person or thing itself. Thus *quis veneficus* is not *what kind* of a poisoner, but *what* poisoner, i. e., which one. Secret poisoning was by no means uncommon at Rome.—**Tota Italia**; G. 422, 1, 1).

30. Circumscriptor, *defrauder*, especially one who deceives and defrauds the young.

32. Se cum Catilina familiarissime vixisse, *that he has lived on most intimate terms with Catiline.*—**Non**; construe with *fateatur*.

33. Per hosce annos, *during these years*, i. e., for a few years past. *Hosce* restricts the period to the years which are now passing, or have just passed.

34. Per illum, *through his agency.* G. 414, 5, 1).

35. Jam vero, *but again = moreover.*—**Juventutis illecebra,** *power of alluring the young*, i. e., to ruin.

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36. Alios, aliorum, *some, of others.*—**Amabat**; G. 469, II. 15

1. Aliis, aliis; Indirect object of *pollicebatur.*—**Fructum,** *the* 16 *gratification.*

2. Impellendo, *by inciting them*, i. e., by inciting the children to murder their parents for the property. In English, the thought may be better expressed by participles: *not only urging them on, but also aiding them.*

4. Ex agris, *from the country.* See Syn. L. C. 245.

7. Oppressus; Participle limiting *nemo.*

8. Adsciverit; G. 501, I.; 482, 2.

9. Ut possitis. This Subjunctive expresses the purpose of an action readily supplied, as *hoc dicam*, I will say this, viz., *nemo est*, etc.—**In dissimili ratione,** *in different relations in life*, i. e., in different spheres or situations in life.

10. Nemo in ludo gladiatorio—nullus gladiator. In the gladiatorial schools, slaves were trained under the direction of professional masters for the gladiatorial contests.—**Paulo audacior,** *a little more audacious than usual.* G. 444, 1.

11. Intimum Catilinae, *a most intimate friend of Catiline.* G. 441, 1.—**Nemo in scaena.** Actors in Rome were generally freedmen or slaves.

12. Sodalem, *boon companion.* This is more specific than *intimum*, and refers especially to companionship in pleasure and enjoyment.

14. Exercitatione, *by the practice;* Abl. of Means.—**Frigore... perferendis,** *to endure cold*, etc., lit., *accustomed* (assuefactus), *trained in enduring cold*, etc. Abl. of Specification. In such cases, however, the Latin admits the Dat., or the Acc. with *ad*, instead of the Abl.

15. Ab istis; i. e., by the companions and admirers of Catiline. G. 450, 3.—**Quum consumerentur**; Subj. of Concession.—**Industriae subsidia... virtutis,** *aids of industry and means of virtue*, i. e., this power of endurance, referred to in *frigore et fame... perferendis*, which might have been so useful in an active (*industriae*) and virtuous (*virtutis*) life, was utterly wasted (*consumerentur*).

18. Hunc vero. With these words Cicero resumes the thought from which he digressed on page 15, line 26, to characterize Catiline.—**Secuti erunt**; G. 473, 2.—**Sui comites**; i. e., his associates and accomplices who remained in Rome after the departure of Catiline.

19. O nos beatos. This exclamation, it will be observed, is the conclusion of the condition *si... comites, si... greges*, and is much more emphatic than the declarative form, *erimus beati*, would have been. On the construction of *nos*, see G. 381.

21. Hominum, *of the men*, i. e., the men referred to in *sui comites.*

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22. Audaciae, *audacity*. Cicero uses the plural because he is speaking of the *audacity*, not of one man, but of many men, as shown by *hominum* in the preceding line.—**Nisi caedes**, *except* (lit., *if not*) *murders*. *Caedes* is the object of *cogitant*, to be supplied.

24. Obligaverunt, *they have mortgaged*.—**Res**, *property*.

25. Fides, *credit*.—**Quae...abundantia**, *which they had while in affluence*, i. e., before they wasted their property. With *erat* supply *iis*, was to them = had.—**Nuper**, *lately*, i. e., since Catiline's recent defeat at the consular election.

26. Alea. Games of chance were forbidden at Rome, except during the festival of the Saturnalia.—**Si...comissationes solum...quaererent**; i. e., if they aimed *only* at revelling and debauchery, and did not also aim at the overthrow of the state.

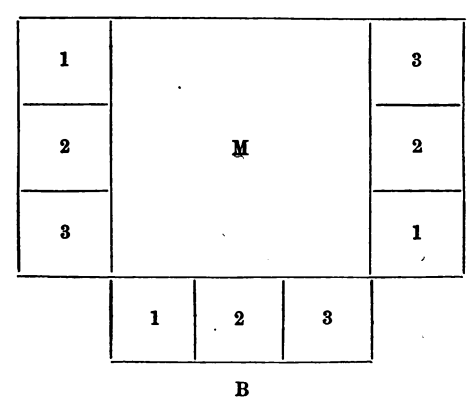
27. Illi quidem; G. 450, 4, 2).

28. Desperandi, sed tamen ferendi, *hopelessly lost, but yet endurable*, i. e., they would, indeed, be beyond hope of reformation, but yet endurable, because not dangerous to the state.

29. Possit; Potential Subjunctive; G. 485.—**Inertes**, *listless*, contrasted with *fortissimis*, as *homines* is contrasted with *viris*. See Syn. L. C. 239, II.—**Inertes...insidiari**; in apposition with *hoc*.

30. Prudentissimis; used substantively as the Indirect Object of *insidiari*, to be supplied, of which *stultissimos* is the subject.

31. Accubantes, *reclining*. The Romans did not sit at table, but



reclined upon elevated couches, resting the weight of the body in part upon the left elbow. These couches occupied three sides of a square

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table, and were intended each to accommodate three persons. The 16
waiters served at the fourth side of the table. The diagram on the preceding page represents the Roman table M, on three sides of which are placed the couches A, B, and C, each accommodating three persons.

32. Sertis, unguentis. Cicero doubtless intends to speak of the excessive use of garlands and perfumes as indicating luxury and indulgence.—**Obliti**; from *oblino.*

33. Eructant, *talk of*, lit., *belch forth*, i. e., make known when intoxicated; an appropriate term in connection with *vino languidi, conferti cibo.*

35. Quibus, *them.* G. 453; 386

2. Sanare. Supply *eos.*—**Non breve nescio quod tempus,** *not* 17
some brief period.—**Nescio quod tempus**—quoddam tempus, *some time.* G. 525, 4.

3. Propagarit. Observe the force of the Fut. Perf. G. 473, 1.

5. Omnia externa, *all things abroad.*—**Sunt**; construe with *pacata.*

6. Unius, *of one man*, i. e., Cn. Pompey, whose campaigns against the pirates, and against Mithridates and Tigranes, had been crowned with signal success.—**Terra marique**; G. 422, 1, 1).

7. Intus. Observe its emphatic position, in contrast with *externa.*

8. Hostis, *the enemy*, not *an enemy.*—**Nobis certandum est,** *we must contend*, lit., *it is to us to be contended.* G. 231; 301, 2; 388.

10. Inimicitias. See note on *audaciae*, p. 16, line 22.

11. Quacumque ratione; supply *fieri potest, in whatever way it can be done*, i. e., in every possible way.—**Quae resecanda erunt,** *which it shall be necessary to remove*, lit., *which shall be to be cut off.*

14. Permanent. This verb is here used literally with *in urbe*, but figuratively with *in eadem mente.*—**Ea quae merentur**; i. e., capital punishment. G. 527, 2, 1).

VI., VII. *Cicero's Defence against the Charge of too Great Severity in having driven Catiline into Exile.*

15. A me, Catilinam. Observe position. G. 594, I. and II.

16. Quod ego si...possem, *if I were able to accomplish this by a word*, i. e., by a mere word or threat.—**Quod,** *this*, lit., *which*, i. e., to drive into exile. G. 453. Observe the force of the Imperf. Subj. in *possem* and *ejicerem.* G. 510, 1.

17. Videlicet. Ironical. The irony extends, indeed, to the whole sentence.

18. Permodestus, *very modest*, with perhaps the accessory idea of *docile, yielding.*

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17 **19. Simul atque**, *as soon as.* G. 587, I. 2.—**Ire in exsilium jussus est.** See p. 8, line 17.

21. Hesterno die. Cicero proceeds to give an account of the occurrences which led to the departure of Catiline.—**Quum paene interfectus essem**, *when I had narrowly escaped being killed.* G. 518, II. See also p. 4, lines 20 to 27.

22. Aedem. Difference in meaning between the singular and the plural? G. 132.—**Jovis Statoris.** See note on *Jovi Statori*, p. 4, line 35.—**Rem omnem...detuli**; i. e., in the First Oration against Catiline. That oration was delivered, it will be remembered, in the Temple of Jupiter Stator. See note on *munitissimus locus*, p. 1, line 5.

23. Quo quum...venisset, *when Catiline came in*, lit., *whither had come.*—**Quo**, *whither* or *thither* = in aedem.

24. Appellavit, *addressed.* See Syn. L. C. 184, 1.—**Ita ut**, *as*, lit., *thus, as. Ita* is explained by *ut perditum civem.*

26. Ejus ordinis, *of that order*, i. e., of the senate. See p. 6, lines 33 to 36.

28. Hic, *hereupon.*—**Vehemens ille consul.** In irony. See line 15 above.

30. Fuisset. Is the interrogative particle expressed or omitted? G. 346, II. 2, 2).—**Necne**, *or not.* G. 346, II. 2, 3).

31. Homo audacissimus, *though a most audacious man*; an appositive with a concessive force.

32. Quid...egisset; Indirect Question, object of *edocui.*—**Quid in proximam constituisset.** This refers probably to the intended murder of Cicero.

33. Quem ad modum, *in what manner*; often written *quemadmodum.*—**Ei**, *by him.* G. 388, 1.

34. Quum teneretur, *when he stood speechless*, lit., *was held*, i. e., was so overwhelmed by the fact that his plans were known to the consul, that he was completely powerless.

35. Eo quo...pararet, *to that place to which he had long been preparing to go.* In the Direct Discourse, *eo quo...paras* would have been used. G. 467, 2. Why is *paras* changed to *pararet?* G. 481, II. 1; 531; 533.

36. Secures, fasces. These were among the insignia of consular authority which Catiline was preparing to assume. The consul, when in command of an army, was attended by twelve Lictors bearing the fasces, which were bundles of rods, containing each an axe (*securis*).

18 **1. Aquilam illam argenteam**, etc. See p. 9, lines 24 to 27.—**Sacrarium.** See note on *sacrarium scelerum tuorum*, p. 9, line 26.

2. Praemissam. The participle here agrees with the nearest noun

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aquilam, while *praemissa* is to be supplied with *arma* and *signa*, *praemissas* with *secures* and *tubas*, and *praemissos* with *fasces*. G. 439.—**In exsilium ejiciebam**, *was I attempting to drive into exile?* G. 346, II. 1, 5); 469, 1. 18

4. **Etenim, credo.** In irony.—**In agro Faesulano**, *in the district of Faesulae.* This was in Etruria. See *in Etruriae faucibus*, p. 2, line 28.

7. **Massiliam**, *Marseilles.* Catiline and his friends reported that he was going to Marseilles.—**Ut aiunt**, *as they say.* See *sunt qui dicant*, p. 17, line 15.

8. **Haec castra**, *this camp.* The same camp which is called *illa castra* above, line 6, is here called *haec castra*, this camp, because it has just been mentioned. G. 450.

10. **Si pertimuerit**; Fut. Perf. where we use the Future. G. 473, 2.

11. **Periculis meis**, *by my perils*, i. e., the perils incurred by Cicero in his attempts to suppress the conspiracy.

14. **Iter**; Object of *converterit.*

15. **Non ille.** Here begins the conclusion. *Ille* is the subject of *dicetur.*—**Spoliatus.** Supply *esse*, as also with *obstupefactus*, *perterritus*, etc.

18. **A consule vi et minis.** Why is the preposition used with *consule*, and not with *vi* and *minis?* G. 414; 414, 5.—**Si hoc fecerit**, *if he shall do this*, i. e., *pertimuerit*, *mutaverit*, etc. The conclusion is *erunt qui*, etc.

21. **Est mihi tanti**, *it is worth my while.* The subject of *est* is the clause *hujus invidiae...subire.*—**Tanti**; Genitive of Price. G. 402, III. 1.

22. **Dum modo depellatur**; G. 503, I.—**A vobis**, *from you.*

23. **Dicatur**; Subj. of Desire. G. 488, I.

26. **Invidiae...causa**, *for the sake of lightening my unpopularity.* —**Ut L. Catilinam...audiatis.** This would prove the correctness of Cicero's accusations, and thus, by justifying his course, diminish his unpopularity.—**Ut audiatis**; Subj. of Mixed Purpose after *optabo.* G. 492, 3.

27. **Triduo**; G. 426, 2, 2), (3).

28. **Ne mihi sit**, etc., *that it may be a source of unpopularity to me.* The clause expresses purpose, and is yet in apposition with *illud.* G. 492.

29. **Quod illum emiserim**, *that I allowed him to go;* subject of *sit* in the preceding line.—**Emiserim**; Subjunctive by Attraction. G. 527.

30. **Quum profectus sit**, *now that he has departed.* G. 531.

31. **Iidem**; Subject of *dicerent.*—**Si interfectus esset**; G. 510, 1.

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18 **33. Ire**, *is going*, i. e., is on his way.—**Dictitant**, *are continually saying*. Observe the force of the frequentative form. G. 332, I.

34. Hoc, *this*, i. e., that Catiline is on his way to Marseilles.—**Queruntur quam yerentur**. Their complaint that Catiline has been unjustly driven into exile is mere pretence. Their real feeling is that of joy at his departure, as they believe that he is on his way to the camp of Manlius, and yet they have some little fear that he may, after all, abandon his revolutionary schemes, and go into exile. Hence their real feeling is not so much that of complaint as of fear.

35. Tam misericors, *so compassionate*, i. e., so much interested in the welfare of Catiline. If they were really interested in his welfare, they would prefer that he should go to Marseilles, where he would be safe, rather than that he should encounter all the horrors of civil war by joining Manlius.—**Qui non malit** — ut is non malit, *as not to prefer*. G. 500.—**Ad Massilienses** — ad Massiliam, the *citizens* for the *city*, perhaps to bring the expression into harmony with *ad Manlium*.

36. Hoc quod agit, *that which he is now doing*, referring to his revolutionary movement.

19 **4. Vivis nobis**, *while I am alive;* Abl. Absol. G. 431; 446, 2.—**Roma**; G. 423, I.—**Optemus**, *let us desire;* because if he does not go into exile, he will surely make war upon his country.—**Optemus, queramur**; Subj. of Desire; G. 488, I.

VIII.—X. *Character of the Forces of Catiline. Six Classes.*

6. Sed. Cicero proceeds in the next place to speak of the partisans and followers of Catiline who have not yet left the city. He divides them into six classes.

7. Fatetur se esse hostem. It is here assumed that Catiline has gone to the camp of Manlius.—**Quia murus interest**, *because there is a wall between us.*—**Quod semper volui**, *as I have always wished*, lit., *which I have*, etc.—*Quod* refers to *murus interest*.

9. Romae; G. 421.—**Nihil dicimus**, *but say nothing.* Observe the omission of the conjunction. G. 587, III. 4. The interrogative is still *cur*.

10. Si fieri possit, *if it can be done.* The subject of *possit* is the clause *sanare sibi...publicae.*

11. Sanare sibi ipsos, *to restore them to themselves*, i. e., to reason.

13. Intelligo. What is the direct object of this verb? G. 525, 2.

14. Singulis, *to them one by one*, referring to these classes, *generibus.*

15. Consilii atque orationis meae; Genitive of Specification,

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of my advice and discourse; i. e., of the advice contained in my oration, 19
an instance of hendiadys. G. 704, II. 2.—**Si quam**; supply *medicinam afferre.*

17. Unum genus. Cicero characterizes the first class of the conspirators as debtors who are possessed of property, and not therefore really insolvent.—**Est eorum**, *consists of those*, lit., *is of those.*—**Eorum**; Predicate Gen. G. 401.—**Magno in aere alieno**, *though deeply in debt.*

19. Dissolvi, *to be set free*, i. e., from debt. Others render, *to be separated from them*, i. e., from their possessions. Perhaps Cicero selected an ambiguous term for the purpose of suggesting to his hearers both interpretations.—**Species**, *the external appearance*, referring doubtless to their wealth and social position.

21. Tu...tu...sis, et dubites, *can you be...and hesitate?* Observe the repetition of *tu;* G. 704, II. 3.—**Agris**; G. 419, III.—**Sis, dubites**; Potential Subj. G. 485.

22. Familia, *with a retinue of servants.*

23. Acquirere ad fidem, *to add to your credit*, i. e., by paying your debts.

25. Omnium, *of all things;* Objective Gen. with *vastatione.* G. 396, II.—**An tabulas novas**, *or new accounts.* Supply *exspectas.* Laws were sometimes passed reducing all debts in a uniform ratio, as by one-fourth or one-half. The Valerian Law, enacted in the year 86 B. C., reduced all debts to one-fourth of their previous amount. The debts thus reduced were entered upon new tables (*tabulae novae*). Catiline had promised his followers such a relief from the weight of indebtedness with which so many of them were overwhelmed.

27. Tabulae novae...verum auctionariae, *new tables, but those of the auction.* There is in this passage a play upon the word *tabulae.* Cicero says debts shall be reduced, not indeed by any new law, but by the public sale of the property of the debtor.

29. Quod, *this*, i. e., to sell their property as is implied in *auctionariae.*

30. Neque, *and not.*—**Id**; in apposition with the clause *certare*, etc. —**Certare...praediorum**, *to struggle to meet the interest by means of the produce of their estates.*

31. Et locupletioribus...uteremur, *we should find* (lit., *use*) *them both richer and better citizens.*—**Civibus**; Predicate Noun after *uteremur*, agreeing with *his.*

33. Permanebunt. Supply *in sententia.*

36. Alterum genus. The second class consists of insolvent debtors who are ambitious of power.

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20 **1. Rerum potiri volunt,** *they wish to become master of affairs.* G. 409, 3.

2. Honores; Object of *consequi.*—**Quos**; Object of *desperant.* G. 371, 3, 1).—**Quieta re publica,** *in a peaceful condition of the state.*

3. Perturbata. Supply *re publica.*—**Quibus hoc...videtur,** *to these it seems proper that this admonition should be given*; lit., *to whom this seems to deserve to be prescribed.* Here the Latin employs the personal construction, and the English the impersonal. *Hoc* is the subject of *videtur.* With *praecipiendum* supply *esse.*

4. Unum et idem; in apposition with *hoc.*—**Quod reliquis omnibus.** Supply *praecipiendum esse videtur.*

5. Ut desperent; Mixed Purpose; in apposition with *hoc,* yet expressing the purpose of *praecipiendum.*

6. Omnium; Partitive Gen. after *primum.* G. 396, III. 2, 4), (4).—**Me ipsum vigilare,** etc. These infinitive clauses depend upon a verb of *saying* implied in *praecipiendum.* G. 530, II. 1.

8. In maxima multitudine. Another reading is *maximam multitudinem.*

11. Praesentes, *in person.*—**Quod si...adepti,** *but if they should at once attain,* etc.

12. Illi; Subject of *sperant.*

13. Quae, *a state of things which,* lit., *which things.* It refers to *cinere* and *sanguine,* or, at least, to a state of things suggested by those words. G. 445, 3, 1); 439, 3.

15. Id se cupere, quod si, etc., *that if they should attain that which they desire,* lit., *that they desire that which if they should attain.* In rendering into English, the antecedent and relative often change places.

16. Fugitivo aut gladiatori. If the conspiracy should succeed, Catiline and his reckless followers would place themselves at the head of affairs.

17. Tertium genus. The third class consists largely of aged and reckless spendthrifts, who formerly served under Sulla.

18. Manlius. See Introduction, p. 138.—**Cui...succedit,** *whom Catiline now succeeds,* i. e., in command.

19. Quas Sulla constituit. At the close of the civil wars between Marius and Sulla, the latter established colonies for his soldiers in Etruria and other parts of Italy. Not a few of these colonists, having squandered all they had, espoused the cause of Catiline in the hope of new spoils and booty.

20. Quas universas, *which as a class,* i. e., taken as a whole, or collectively. Cicero does not mean to pass censure upon these colonies in general, but only upon those members of them who have joined Cati-

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line. *Universas* is contrasted with *ii.*—**Civium**; Predicate Gen. with 20
esse. G. 401.

21. Sed tamen ii...qui, *but yet there are* (i. e., among them) *those colonists who.*

22. Se sumptuosius...jactarunt, *have conducted themselves too extravagantly and haughtily.* Cicero here refers especially to their ostentatious and extravagant mode of life.

23. Tamquam beati, *as if wealthy.*

24. Conviviis apparatis, *sumptuous feasts.* G. 414.

26. Velint; Subj. by Attraction.—**Sulla sit...excitandus**, *Sulla must be summoned by them from the dead*, i. e., nothing short of the spoils of another bloody revolution like that of Sulla can save them.—**Iis**; G. 388.

27. Tenues, *of slender means.*—**Eandem illam spem**; i. e., the hope that the scenes of Sulla's bloody proscriptions will be repeated under Catiline.

28. Quos, *these*, including both the colonists (*coloni*, line 21) and the peasants (*agrestes*, line 27).

30. Eos hoc moneo, *I give them this advice.* G. 374, 5.—**Proscriptiones et dictaturas**; i. e., such a state of things as they had witnessed under the dictator Sulla.

31. Tantus illorum...dolor, *such a painful recollection of those times*, lit., *so great pain of*, etc.

32. Ut jam...homines...videantur, *that now not only do not men appear to me inclined to permit* (lit., *about to permit*) *these things, but not even brutes seem thus inclined.* In rendering this passage it is impossible to follow the Latin closely.—**Non modo**; G. 584, 2.

34. Quartum genus. The fourth class is a miscellaneous collection of ruined bankrupts.—**Turbulentum.** This seems to be used as a synonyme with *varium* and *mixtum* in the sense of *confused, miscellaneous*, rather than in that of *turbulent, restless.*

35. Qui—eorum qui, *consisting of those who.*—**Premuntur.** Supply *aere alieno.*—**Emergunt**, *emerge from it*, i. e., from their indebtedness.

36. Qui partim...partim, *some of whom...others*, lit., *who partly ...partly.*—**Male gerendo negotio**, *by the bad management of affairs.*

1. In vetere aere alieno vacillant, *are staggering under a load* 21
of long-standing debt.—**Qui permulti**, *who in great numbers*, lit., *who very many. Permulti* agrees with *qui.*—**Vadimoniis, judiciis, proscriptionibus.** These terms designate the three steps in the judicial procedure against debtors. First, the debtor gives bail (*vadimonium*) for his appearance in court; secondly, the decision (*judicium*) of the court, if adverse, places the creditor in possession of certain property for se-

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21 curity; and, thirdly, if the property is not redeemed within a specified time, it is proscribed (*proscriptio*), i. e., is sold to pay the debt.

4. Infitiatores lentos, *dilatory debtors*, strictly those who endeavor to escape payment by denying the debt.

5. Qui homines, *these men*. G. 453.—**Quam primum**, *as soon as possible*. G. 444, 3.—**Si stare...corruant**; referring to *vacillant*, line 1 above.

6. Non modo. Supply *non*. G. 584, 2.

8. Quam ob rem...velint; Indirect Question, in apposition with *illud*.—**Turpiter**, *basely*, i. e., in making war upon their country.

11. Quintum genus. The fifth class consists of parricides and criminals.

13. Pereant; Subj. of Desire.

16. Postremum genus. The sixth and last class consists of effeminate and dissolute young men.—**Postremum...non solum... Catilinae est**, *but the last class, not only in number, but also...is that which is peculiarly Catiline's*.—**Postremum**, *last*, but in the double sense of *last and lowest*, as shown by *genere ipso atque vita*.—**Numero**; G. 429.

17. Catilinae; G. 399, 3, 3).

18. De complexu ejus ac sinu, *his bosom friends*, lit., *of his embrace and bosom*. Originally the language was doubtless applied to those who reclined together at table. See note on *accubantes*, p. 16, line 31.

19. Pexo capillo; Abl. of Characteristic. G. 428.—**Bene barbatos**, *well bearded*. It was deemed foppish at this time to wear a long beard.

20. Manicatis et talaribus tunicis. These were a mark of effeminacy. The ordinary tunics were much shorter and were without sleeves.—**Velis, non togis**, *with veils, not togas*, i. e., with loose flowing garments which resemble veils. The *toga*, the ordinary outer garment of a Roman citizen, was a large shawl, semicircular in form. As usually worn, it covered the left shoulder and arm, passed across the back, under the right arm, across the breast, and again over the left shoulder.

21. In antelucanis cenis, *in banquets prolonged till morning*.

24. Lepidi, *effeminate*.

25. Neque, *not only*. *Solum* is to be supplied from the preceding line.

26. Qui nisi exeunt, *and unless they depart*.

27. Perierit; Fut. Perf.—**Scitote**; G. 534, II. 1.—**Seminarium Catilinarum**, *a nursery of Catilines*.

28. Quid sibi...volunt, *what do those wretches propose to themselves?* G. 389, 2, 1).

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30. Illis; Feminine referring to *mulierculas*. G. 419, III.—**His noctibus**; Abl. of Time. 21

32. Illas; G. 450, 4.—**Idcirco...quod**, *for this reason...because.*

33. Toleraturos. Supply *esse.*—**Nudi**; G. 547, I.

XI. *Contrast between the Forces of Catiline and those of the State.*

35. Magno opere pertimescendum; Ironical. *Magno opere*, also written *magnopere*; Abl. of Manner.—**Quum sit habiturus**; G. 481, III. 1; 518, I.—**Scortorum**, *of prostitutes*, referring not so much to *mulierculas* as to *omnes impuri impudicique*, line 23 above.—**Cohortem praetoriam.** The select band which attended the person of the commander as his staff or body-guard, was called the *praetorian cohort.*

1. Instruite nunc, *marshal now*, i. e., in imagination.—**Praeclaras**; Ironical. 22

2. Praesidia, exercitus. The former refers to the means of defensive warfare, the latter of offensive.

3. Gladiatori illi; i. e., Catiline.

4. Illam naufragorum...manum, *that stranded* (*ejectam*) *and helpless band of shipwrecked men*; a favorite figure with Cicero.

6. Jam vero, *nay in truth.* The contrast is now extended from the forces themselves to the positions which they occupy.—**Urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum**, *the cities of our colonies and municipalities.* The *municipia* were states, or towns, which were governed by their own laws, but were required to render military service to Rome.—**Respondebunt**, *will be a match for.*

7. Tumulis silvestribus, *the wooded heights*, referring to the lurking-places of Catiline's forces.—**Copias, ornamenta, praesidia**, *resources, equipments, defences.*

9. Quibus; construe with *suppeditamur* and *eget.* G. 419, III.

10. Eget ille, *but which he needs.* Observe the ellipsis of the conjunction. G. 587, III. 4.—**Senatu, equitibus**, etc.; in apposition with *rebus.*

12. Exteris nationibus, *foreign nations*, i. e., foreign allies.—**Si, his rebus omissis**; repeated from line 9 above.

13. Contendere, *to compare.*—**Ex eo ipso**, *from this very thing*, i. e., from this very comparison.

14. Quam valde...jaceant, *how prostrate they lie.*—**Ex hac parte** = hinc, **illinc** = ex illa parte, *on* (lit., *from*) *this side, on that.*

19. Aequitas...prudentia. These are the four cardinal virtues

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22 recognized by the Greek philosophers.—**Virtutes omnes**; corresponding to *vitiis omnibus*.

21. Bona ratio cum perdita; supply *ratione*, *sound reason with folly*, lit., *with ruined reason*.

23. Cum...desperatione, *with despair in regard to* (lit., *of*) *all things*, i. e., utter despair.

25. Ab his virtutibus; G. 414, 6.

XII., XIII. *Conclusion.*

27. Vos; expressed for emphasis in contrast with *mihi* below.—**Quem ad modum...dixi**, *as I have already said*, referring, it is supposed, to *Instruite nunc, Quirites*, in the first line on this page.

29. Mihi consultum atque provisum est, *measures have been initiated and provision made by me*. G. 388, 1.—**Urbi**, *to the city*, i. e., as a whole. G. 387. The consul provides for the safety of the city as a whole, while each citizen is expected to look especially to the safety of his own house.—**Sine vestro motu**, *without disturbance to you*, i. e., without disturbing you.

30. Esset; G. 482, 1.—**Praesidii**; Partitive Genitive with *satis*, the subject of *esset*.

32. Hac nocturna...Catilinae; i. e., Catiline's departure the preceding night to the camp of Manlius.

33. Quam manum, *a force which*, lit., *which force*. Lat. Comp. 477, 2.—**Certissimam**, *most faithful*.

34. Quamquam animo...patriciorum, *however they are better disposed* (lit., *of better mind*) *than a portion of the patricians*. This is only a parenthetical remark.

35. Potestate tamen...continebuntur, *yet will be retained in our power*, i. e., even the gladiators, who, Catiline thought, would be faithful to him, will *yet* (i. e., notwithstanding his expectations) be retained by us. *Tamen*, it will be observed, does not refer back to *quamquam* in the parenthetical clause, but to the concessive idea contained in the clause *quam...putavit*. For greater security, the gladiators had been distributed among the municipal towns.

36. Q. Metellus, agrum Gallicum, etc. See note on *quem Q. Metellus habuit*, p. 14, line 31.—**Hoc**, *this*, i. e., the present posture of affairs.

23 **1. Hominem**; i. e., Catiline.

4. Quem vocari videtis, *which you see is convoked* (lit., *to be convoked*). Perhaps the senators were already beginning to assemble in the senate-house near by.

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5. Atque adeo, *and even — or rather.* 23

8. Monitos etiam atque etiam, *to be admonished again and again.* Supply *esse.* The subject accusative is *illos* in line 5 above.

9. Solutior, *excessive*, lit., *too unrestricted.*—**Hoc exspectavit**, *it has had this object. Hoc* is explained by the clause *ut id...erumperet.*

10. Quod reliquum est; *for the future*, lit., *as to what remains*; here in a temporal sense, as to the time which remains — *for the future*, opposed to *adhuc*, line 8 above.

13. Portis, viae; Datives of Possessor, *the gates have no keeper*, etc.

14. Conivere; the approved form instead of *connivere.*—**Commoverit, deprehendero.** Fut. Perf. denoting actions which will be *completed* at the time of *sentiet.*—**Cujus non modo factum**, etc., *of whom I shall detect not to say an act but any beginning or attempt*, etc.

16. Sentiet. The subject is the omitted antecedent of *qui.*

18. Quem vindicem...voluerunt, *which our ancestors intended as a place of punishment* (lit., *as the punisher*) *of*, etc.

21. Maximae res. Supply *sedentur*, from *sedetur* below.

24. Me uno...imperatore, Abl. Absol., *while I alone clad in the toga am your leader and commander.*—**Togato**, *clad in the toga*, the dress of the peaceful citizen as opposed to *paludamentum*, the military cloak of the commander. Cicero engages, therefore, to bring the war to a close without resorting to military force. See note on *velis, non togis*, p. 21, line 20.

28. Impendens patriae periculum, *the danger which threatens the country.*

30. Vix optandum, *scarcely to be hoped for.*

31. Ut neque bonus quisquam...que, *that no good man...and that.*—**Neque** — *et non*, of which *et* is the correlative of *que.* G. 587, I. 5.—**Ut neque...possitis**; in apposition with *illud* above.

33. Prudentia, consiliis, etc.; G. 419, IV.

34. Multis et non dubiis significationibus, *on the many sure tokens.* G. 440, 1; 705, VI.

35. Quibus ducibus, *under whose guidance.* Abl. Absol. *Quibus* refers to *deorum.*

1. Non procul, ut...solebant, *not at a distance, as they were wont* 24
to do. Cicero thus refers to the protection which the Romans had received from the gods in foreign wars, to awaken in his hearers an expectation of special divine interposition in defence of the temples and shrines of the city itself.

4. Precari, venerari, implorare, *to beseech, supplicate, implore*; an accumulation of synonymes to add emphasis to the expression.—**Ut**;

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24 construe with *defendant*.—**Quam urbem, hanc**; construe, *hanc urbem quam*.

5. **Omnibus hostium...superatis**, *now that all the forces of our enemies* (i. e., foreign enemies) *have been conquered*, etc.—*Hostium* (enemies) is contrasted with *perditissimorum civium* (most abandoned citizens).

6. **Terra marique**; G. 422, 1, 1).

THIRD ORATION AGAINST CATILINE, DELIVERED BEFORE THE PEOPLE IN THE FORUM, ON THE THIRD OF DECEMBER, 63 B. C.*

ANALYSIS.

I. Introduction. I.

II. An Account of the Means and Events by which the Conspiracy was discovered and exposed. Decree of the Senate. II.—VI.

III. The Signal Success already attained to be ascribed to two Principal Causes:

1. To the Policy of the Consul in driving Catiline from the City. VII.
2. To the Divine Interposition in Behalf of the State. VIII., IX.

IV. The People are exhorted to render Gratitude to the Gods and to retain a Grateful Recollection of the Services of their Consul. X., XI.

V. Conclusion. XII.

I. *Introduction. Cicero announces the Exposure and Failure of the Conspiracy. The State is safe.*

25 1. **Rem publicam**; Object of *videtis*, line 7.

4. **Urbem**; in apposition with *domicilium*. Rome is thus represented as the home or abode of the government, i. e., the seat of government.

5. **Meis**; construe with *laboribus* and *consiliis*, as well as with *periculis*.

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* See Introduction, p. 141.

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6. Ereptam; Participle. *Esse* is not to be supplied. 25

7. Et, si...servavit. This sentence, as also the preceding, is a fine specimen of a full Latin period. G. 605.—**Si...sunt...debebit.** For the force of the Indicative, see G. 508. Cicero refers to the *fact* that the Romans were accustomed to celebrate with joy and festivity the anniversary of their escape from any great danger. See Horace, Odes, III. 8.

8. Illustres, *bright, festive.*—**Quibus**; Abl. of Time.

9. Salutis laetitia, *the joy derived from preservation from danger*, lit., *the joy of preservation.*—**Nascendi incerta condicio**, *the condition* (i. e., the condition in life, whether one of joy or sorrow) *to which we are born* (lit., *of being born*) *is uncertain.*

10. Sine sensu, *without consciousness*, i. e., unconsciously.

11. Profecto; construe with *debebit.*—**Qui...condidit**; i. e., Romulus, who is reported to have founded Rome 753 B. C.

12. Ad deos...sustulimus. Romulus was deified as *Quirinus*, in whose honor the festival of the *Quirinalia* was annually celebrated on the seventeenth of February.—**Benevolentia famaque**, *by our gratitude and by the glory which we ascribe to him*; lit., *by good-will and glory.*

13. Debebit, *will deserve.*

15. Urbi; G. 386.—**Delubris**, *shrines.*

17. Iidemque; G. 451, 3.—**Rettudimus**, *we have thrust back*, not *have blunted.*

19. Per me, *through my agency.* G. 414, 5, 1.

20. Exponam. Supply *ea.*—**Ut**; construe with *possitis.*—**Quanta**; supply *sint, how important they are.*

22. Exspectatis, *are waiting*, i. e., are in anxious expectation, waiting to be informed by the consul.

1. Ut, *ever since*, lit., *as, as soon as*, i. e., as soon as he left, I began to 26
watch, etc.—**Paucis ante diebus**, *a few days ago.* G. 427; 427, 1. It was, in fact, already twenty-five days, but Cicero, to excuse his own tardiness, speaks of the period as short.

2. Quum reliquisset, *when he left*—having left or leaving, lit., *when he had left.* G. 518, II.

II. *Lentulus, one of the Conspirators, tampers with the Allobroges. The latter are seized by the Agents of Cicero.*

6. Ejiciebam. Observe the force of the Imperfect.

7. Hujus verbi; i. e., of the word *ejiciebam.*—**Illa**; i. e., *illa invidia.*

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26 **8. Quod vivus exierit.** This clause explains *illa, since that* (unpopularity) *arising from the fact that he went forth alive*, etc.—**Exierit**; Subj. by Attraction. G. 527.—**Sed tum**, *but at that time*, or more freely, *at that time, I say. Sed* here resumes the thought with which the chapter opens, *tum, quum ex urbe*, etc. In such cases it may be rendered, *but, now, I say*, etc.—**Exterminari**, *to be driven into exile.* Observe the etymology of the word.

10. Restitissent. Explain mood and tense. What mood and tense would be used in the Direct Discourse? G. 532, 4.

11. Atque ego, ut vidi, *and so when I saw;* lit., *and I, as I saw. Ego* is the subject of *consumpsi* below. *Atque*, as a particle of transition, may often be rendered by *but, now, and so.*

13. Esse, remansisse. Observe the force of each tense. What is the real time here denoted by each? G. 541, 1; 542, 1.—**In eo**, *in this*, i. e., in this endeavor, explained by the clause *ut quid agerent...viderem;* G. 495, 3.

15. Ut rem ita comprehenderem, *that I might so grasp the subject*, i. e., get so complete possession of all the facts in the case. This clause should not be treated as an appositive to *eo*, but as a clause expressing the purpose of *sentirem ac viderem.*—**Auribus vestris minorem...mea**, *my words found too little credence in your ears*, lit., *to your ears.*—**Auribus**; Dative of Indirect Object with *faceret*, which is in the Subjunctive by Attraction.

17. Ut provideretis; Subjunctive of Result.—**Animis**, *with your minds;* emphatic in contrast with *oculis.* See Syn. L. C. 355.—**Saluti**; G. 385, 3.

19. Allobrogum. The Allobroges were a warlike people of Gaul, who had been conquered by the Romans more than half a century before. The deputation here spoken of came to Rome to present certain complaints against the provincial government.—**Belli**; Genitive depending upon *causa.* G. 562.—**Transalpini**, *Transalpine*, i. e., in Transalpine Gaul, or in Gaul beyond the Alps.

20. Tumultus Gallici, *a Gallic revolt or war. Tumultus*, as distinguished from *bellum*, is applied especially to a commotion or war in Italy or in Cisalpine Gaul. *Gallici*, Gallic, as here distinguished from *transalpini*, means *in Cisalpine Gaul.*—**P. Lentulo.** Publius Cornelius Lentulus, a partisan of Catiline, was at this time *praetor.* He had been consul, but was subsequently expelled from the senate on account of his scandalous life. His election to the office of praetor restored him to the senate.—**Esse sollicitatos**, *had been tampered with*, i. e., Lentulus, taking advantage of their dissatisfaction, had endeavored to interest them in the conspiracy.

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21. Eodemque itinere, *and on the same journey.* As their home- 26
ward route lay through Etruria, they could easily visit Catiline at the camp of Manlius.

22. Comitem, *as a companion.* This is a Predicate Accusative after *adjunctum esse.*

23. T. Volturcium. Titus Volturcius, of whom little is known, except that he was a native of Crotona, in Italy, and a partisan of Catiline.—**Ad Catilinam**; construe with *litteras, a letter to Catiline.*

24. Oblatam. Supply *esse.*

25. Ut, *so that.*—**Quod erat...quodque,** *which was a very difficult matter, and one which.*

28. L. Flaccum et C. Pomptinum. Lucius Flaccus and Gaius Pomptinus were praetors under Cicero. They had both seen service in previous wars. At the close of the praetorship, Flaccus became governor of the province of Asia, and Pomptinus of Gallia Narbonensis.—**Praetores.** The praetors, eight in number, were Roman magistrates, charged with the administration of justice. See note on *circumstare... praetoris urbani*, p. 12, line 15.

29. Fortissimos...rei publicae. Two most important qualifications in those to whom great public trusts are to be committed—courage and patriotism.—**Rei publicae**; G. 399, 2, 1).

30. Quid placeret; G. 525.

31. Qui sentirent; Relative clause denoting a reason, *as they entertained all noble and excellent sentiments*, etc. G. 519.

33. Quum advesperasceret; G. 800; 518, II.—**Pontem Mulvium.** This was one of the bridges over the Tiber. It was on the road to Faesulae, and was three miles from the Roman Forum.

35. Interesset; G. 463, 3.

1. Praefectura Reatina, *the prefecture of Reate*, a Sabine town 27
of which Cicero was the patron. Originally the *prefectures* had neither laws nor magistrates of their own, but were governed by a Roman prefect. Subsequently some of these towns, among which was Reate, obtained from Rome the rights of citizenship.

2. Opera; G. 419, I.

3. Tertia fere vigilia exacta; i. e., about three o'clock in the morning. The Romans divided the night into four watches of three hours each.

4. Quum inciperent. Observe that this clause not only gives the *time* of the attack, but also its *occasion* and *cause.* Their entrance upon the bridge was the signal for the attack. G. 518, II. 1.—**Magno comitatu,** *with a large retinue.* G. 414, 7.

6. Res, *the thing*, i. e., the cause of the attack.

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III. *The Letters and Documents obtained from Volturcius and the Allobroges are brought to Cicero. Gabinius and others are arrested. The Senate is convened.*

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27 8. **Interventu**; Abl. of Cause. As the object of the attack had been attained, there was no need of continuing the battle.

10. **Integris signis**, *with unbroken seals;* Abl. Absol. The waxen tablets on which letters were usually written, were tied together with a string, the knot of which was sealed.—**Ipsi**, *the men themselves*, in distinction from the letters.

13. **Cimbrum Gabinium.** One of the chief conspirators, called also *Publius Gabinius* (p. 30, line 13), and, by Sallust, *Publius Gabinius Capito.* He was of equestrian rank.—**Nihildum suspicantem**, *as yet suspecting nothing.*

14. **L. Statilius, C. Cethegus.** These were both leading conspirators. The former was of equestrian rank, the latter of senatorial.—**Lentulus.** See note on *P. Lentulo*, p. 26, line 20.—**Credo quod... vigilarat.** Observe the sarcasm and irony. Lentulus was notoriously dilatory and indolent.

17. **Quum placeret**, *though it pleased*, i. e., seemed best.—**Viris**; Indirect Object of *placeret.*

18. **Frequentes**, *in great numbers.*—**Litteras aperiri**; Subject of *placeret.*

19. **Deferri**; with *litteras* to be supplied; in the same construction as *litteras aperiri.* G. 417, 1; 551, I. 6.—**Si esset inventum**; attracted from the Fut. Perf. G. 532, 4.

21. **Negavi...ut non rem integram deferrem**, *I said that I would not so act as not to refer the whole subject. Negavi* = dixi non.—**Ut deferrem**; G. 492, 1.

22. **Ad consilium publicum**, *to the public council*, i. e., the senate.

23. **Si reperta essent**; G. 509, 1.—**Quae erant delata**; G. 531, 4.

27. **Admonitu**; G. 414, 2, 3).—**C. Sulpicium.** Of Gaius Sulpicius we know only what Cicero here tells us.

28. **Qui efferret**, *to bring*, lit., *who should bring;* Subj. of Purpose. G. 500.—**Aedibus**; G. 132.—**Si quid telorum esset**, *if there should be any weapons* (lit., *any thing of weapons*) *there*, i. e., whatever weapons were there. G. 396, III. 2, 3), (3).

29. **Ex quibus**, *from which*, i. e., from the house of Cethegus.

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IV. *Testimony of Volturcius.*

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31. Introduxi; i. e., into the senate, which was then assembled in 27
the Temple of Jupiter Stator.—**Gallis** = *legatis Allobrogum.*—**Fidem publicam dedi**, *I pledged to him the protection of the state;* i. e., I promised him pardon in case he would reveal whatever he knew of the plot.

33. Timore. See Syn. L. C. 305.—**Quum vix se recreasset**, *when he had scarcely recovered;* Time with Concession, *when and though.* G. 518, II.

35. Ut servorum...uteretur, *advising him to employ the assistance of slaves.* This clause explains *mandata et litteras*, with which it is in apposition. In translating, supply the words *advising him.* G. 495, 3.

36. Id...consilio, *and that he should do this* (i. e., approach the city) *with this design. Id* is the object of *faceret*, to be supplied.

1. Ut; construe with *esset* below.—**Ex omnibus partibus**, *in all* 28
parts, lit., *from all parts;* a common Latin idiom, using *a*, *ab*, *e* or *ex*, where we use *at*, *in*, *on*, *on the side of*, or some similar expression.

3. Ille, *he*, i. e., Catiline.—**Qui fugientes exciperet**, *to intercept the fugitives.*

4. His ducibus; i. e., those leaders mentioned directly below.

5. Jus jurandum, *an oath.* This was in writing, and was to be communicated to the Allobroges in ratification of the compact which the conspirators wished to make with them.

6. Data esse; G. 439, 3.

7. Ita, ut, *that*, lit., *thus*, viz., *that.*—**L. Cassio.** L. Cassius, an influential patrician and senator, was one of the most prominent of the conspirators.

9. Defuturas. Supply *esse.* The infinitive depends upon a verb of saying implied in *esse praescriptum.* G. 530, 1.—**Lentulum sibi confirmasse**, *that Lentulus had assured them.*

10. Ex fatis Sibyllinis, *from the Sibylline predictions.* These predictions were not taken from the three famous Sibylline books said to have been purchased by King Tarquin, for those had been destroyed twenty years before, at the time of the burning of the capitol. Various other Sibylline books were, however, soon after collected from different portions of Italy and Greece. In one of these was found a prediction which was interpreted to mean that three members of the Cornelian gens should rule Rome. In the opinion of Lentulus, the three Cornelii were Publius Cornelius Cinna, notorious for his tyranny and cruelty, Lucius Cornelius Sulla, the famous dictator, and himself, Publius Cornelius Lentulus.

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28 **11. Illum**; G. 450, 4.

12. Esset necesse, *was destined.*

13. Eundemque dixisse, *and that he had also said.* G. 451, 3.—**Fatalem ad**, *destined for.*

14. Qui esset, *since it was.* G. 519.

15. Post virginum absolutionem, *since the acquittal of the virgins*, i. e., of the Vestal virgins, the virgin priestesses of Vesta, who guarded the perpetual fire in the temple of that goddess. Of the trial itself, nothing further is known.—**Capitolii incensionem.** From some unknown cause, the Capitol, i. e., the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill, was burned 83 B. C.

16. Hanc controversiam, *a controversy on this point*, lit., *this controversy.*

18. Saturnalibus, *on the Saturnalia*, the festival of Saturn, celebrated with general festivity and merriment on the nineteenth of December.

19. Nimium longum, *too long*, i. e., too long to wait, too long a postponement.

V. *The Conviction and Confession of the Prisoners.*

20. Ne longum sit, *not to be tedious.* This clause does not express the *purpose* of *jussimus*, but of some verb or expression which may be readily supplied, as, *I proceed at once to state*, etc. G. 493, 3.—**Tabellas**; i. e., the waxen tablets on which the letters were written.

21. A quoque; construe with *datae;* supply *esse.* G. 545, 3.

22. Signum. The seal was placed upon the knot of the string (*linum*) with which the tablets were secured.—**Nos linum incidimus**, *we cut the string;* the usual way of opening a Roman letter.

25. Orare; like *sese...facturum esse*, subject of *erat scriptum, that he asked.*—**Sibi recepissent**, *had promised him*, more literally, *had undertaken for him.—Sibi* refers, not to the ambassadors, but to the writer of the letter, Cethegus.

26. Qui aliquid tamen respondisset, *who had yet* (i. e., notwithstanding his manifest guilt) *made some reply — though he had*, etc.; Relative of Concession. G. 515, II.

28. Ferramentorum; G. 399.

32. In eandem fere sententiam, *to nearly the same purport.*

34. Cognosceretne; G. 526, I.

35. Imago avi tui, *the image of your grandfather.* The head of some ancestor was not an uncommon device upon a Roman seal. The grandfather was Publius Cornelius Lentulus, who was consul 162 B. C.

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He also aided L. Opimius, the consul in the year 121 B. C., against Gaius 28
Gracchus. See p. 2, lines 11 to 15.

36. Quae quidem etiam muta, *and this* (i. e., imago) *indeed, even though speechless.*

2. Eadem ratione, *of the same character*, i. e., of the same tenor 29
and purport as the letters already read. Abl. of Characteristic. Some critics treat *ratione* as Abl. of Manner, and render, *in like manner.*

3. Si...vellet. This conditional sentence, with its omitted conclusion implied in *feci potestatem*, is of the nature of Indirect Discourse, thus: *I gave him permission to speak* (i. e., I told him he might speak), *if he wished*, etc. Hence *vellet*, Imperf. Subj. G. 529; 481, II. 1.

5. Edito, *recorded.* The testimony was at once put in writing.

6. Quid sibi...iis, *what he had to do with them*, lit., *what there was to him with them.* G. 387.—**Domum**; G. 379, 3, 1).

7. Itemque a Volturcio. Supply *quaesivit.*—**Quum respondissent**; G. 518, II.

8. Per quem, *through whose agency.* Lat. Comp. 231, VI. *Quem* refers to the freedman, P. Umbrenus, whom Lentulus employed for this purpose.

10. Subito scelere demens, *suddenly bereft of reason through guilt*, i. e., the consciousness of guilt.

11. Quum id...infitiari, *though he might have denied it.* G. 516, II.; 541, 3.

15. Qua superabat omnes, *in which he surpassed all*, i. e., all others. *Qua*, Abl. of Specification.

19. Vehementissime perturbatus, *though most violently agitated.* G. 578, IV.

20. Erant sine nomine, *it was without a signature*, i. e., anonymous.

22. Quem in locum, *into what a position*, referring to the fact that he was already committed to the work.

24. Etiam infimorum, *even of the lowest*, with special reference to slaves.

25. Quum primo, *though at first.*—**Coepisset**; G. 516, II.

27. Quum illa, *while those things. Illa*, which is explained by *tabellae, signa, manus*, and *confessio*, in apposition with it, is the subject of *visa sunt.*—**Certissima**, *very certain.*

29. Tum multo certiora illa, *those are much more certain. Tum* is the correlative of *quum* above, line 27, G. 587, I. 5, and may not improperly be omitted in translating.

30. Obstupuerant, *were so stupefied*, lit., *had become so stupefied.*

31. Inter se aspiciebant, *looked at one another.* G. 448, 1.

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VI. *The Action of the Senate.*

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29 **35. De summa re publica,** *in regard to the highest welfare of the state.*—**Quid...placeret**; Indirect Question, serving as a second Accus. after *consului*. G. 374, 5.

36. A principibus, *the leading men.* The term is applied especially to the chief of the senate, the consuls-elect, and the ex-consuls. According to Roman custom, they had a right to be heard before the other senators.

30 **1. Sine ulla varietate,** *without a dissenting voice*, i. e., unanimously.

2. Nondum est perscriptum. The decrees of the senate were usually engraved upon brazen tablets.

3. Censuerit. See Syn. L. C. 576.

4. Gratiae aguntur. See Syn. L. C. 548.—**Quod...sit liberata.** Observe the force of the Subj., showing that the reason was assigned by the senate, not by Cicero. G. 520, II.

7. Usus essem; Pluperfect, as the Historical Present *laudantur* is here treated as an Historical tense, but, above, *aguntur* is treated as a Principal tense. Hence the Perfect *sit liberata*. G. 481, IV.

8. Collegae meo, *my colleague*, i. e., in the consulship. C. Antonius, the colleague here referred to, was at first supposed to be more or less in sympathy with Catiline, but Cicero soon succeeded in winning him to the cause of the republic. See Introduction, p. 138.

9. Conjurationis; G. 399, 2, 2).

10. A suis...consiliis, *from his own counsels and those of the republic.*—**Ita ut,** *that.*

11. Quum...abdicasset, *when he had abdicated the praetorship.* This clause in the decree was absolutely essential, as no Roman magistrate could be punished so long as he held office. G. 425, 2, 2).

12. In custodiam. See note on *in custodiam dedisti*, p. 7, line 32.

14. Idem hoc; i. e., *ut in custodiam traderetur.*

16. M. Ceparium. Marcus Ceparius was a native of Terracina. He fled from Rome on the discovery of the conspiracy, but was afterwards arrested and executed.—**Cui**; Indirect object of *attributam esse.*—**Apuliam attributam esse**; subject of *erat indicatum.*

17. P. Furium; **Q. Annium Chilonem.** In regard to these men, little is known. They were active partisans of Catiline. The former was one of the veterans of Sulla; the latter a senator.—**De iis colonis,** *one of those colonists.* See note on *quas Sulla constituit*, p. 20, line 19.

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18. Faesulas; G. 379. 30

19. In hac...sollicitatione, *in this tampering with* (lit., *solicitation of*) *the Allobroges.*—**Allobrogum**; Objective Gen. G. 396, II.

20. P. Umbrenum. A freedman, who had resided in Gaul.

22. Ea lenitate usus est, *exercised such leniency.* G. 419.

23. Ut; construe with *arbitraretur.* G. 494.—**Ex tanta conjuratione,** *out of so great a conspiracy;* construe with *novem hominum.*

24. Novem hominum; i. e., of the nine conspirators just mentioned—Lentulus, Cethegus, etc. Only five were, however, actually punished, as *Cassius, Furius, Chilo,* and *Umbrenus,* escaped by flight.

25. Poena, *by the punishment.*—**Re publica conservata**; Abl. Absol.

27. Supplicatio, *a thanksgiving.*

28. Quod mihi primum togato contigit, *an honor which has been conferred upon me first in civil life,* i. e., an honor which was never before conferred upon any one in civil life, but only upon generals.—**Quod,** *which,* i. e., an honor which, referring to the honor of a thanksgiving.—**Togato,** *clad in the toga,* i. e., in civil life as opposed to military service. See note on *togato,* p. 23, line 24.

30. Quod liberassem; G. 520, II.—**Urbem incendiis**; G. 425, 2, 2), and 3, 2).

31. Quae supplicatio si, *if this thanksgiving.*

32. Hoc interest, *there is this difference.* G. 408, 2; 512.—**Ceterae.** Supply *supplicationes constitutae sunt.*—**Bene gesta**; supply *re publica, for managing the public interests successfully,* i. e., in war; hence, *for military successes,* lit., *the republic having been well managed.*

33. Haec una. Supply *supplicatio.*—**Illud quod faciendum,** etc. This does not seem to refer to any one thing in particular, but is probably to be taken in a general sense; *that which* = *whatever.* The meaning is that every thing has been done legally and constitutionally.

2. Ut liberaremur, *that we might be freed from.*—**Quae religio** 31
C. Mario, etc., *which scruple had not prevented C. Marius...from putting to death C. Glaucia, the praetor,* etc. In general, the person of a magistrate, while in office, was inviolable. Hence Lentulus is compelled to lay down his office that he may be punished as a private citizen.—**Mario non fuerat quo minus,** lit., *had not been to Marius by which the less,* i. e., had not prevented him from.—**Quo minus occideret**; G. 499.

3. C. Glauciam; called *C. Servilium,* p. 2, line 18. The full name is C. Servilius Glaucia. See note on *C. Mario,* p. 2, line 16.

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VII. *The Signal Success already attained largely due to the Absence of Catiline from the City.*

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31 **9. Opes**, *supports.*

10. Quem, *him;* object of *pellebam.*—**Quidem ego**; G. 446, 1.—**Hoc providebam animo**, *I foresaw this in my mind. Hoc* is explained by the following infinitive clause, *esse...pertimescendam*, in apposition with it.

12. Lentuli somnum, *the drowsiness of Lentulus*, i. e., Lentulus with his drowsiness.—**Adipes**, *corpulence.*

13. Ille, *he*, i. e., Catiline.

14. Tam diu, dum, *as long as*, i. e., only as long as, lit., *as long as, while.*

15. Norat; G. 234, 2. Why in the Pluperfect? G. 297, I. 2.—**Omnium aditus tenebat**, *he was acquainted with the means of access to all men*, i. e., he knew how to approach them in such a way as to win them to his cause.—**Omnium**; Objective Genitive.—**Tenebat**; here used as a synonyme of *norat, was acquainted with, held in his knowledge.*

16. Appellare, tentare...audebat. G. 587, I. 6.—**Erat ei consilium...aptum**, *he had the ability capable of planning crime*, lit., *adapted to crime.*

17. Consilio, lingua, manus; i. e., to this ability to form plans was added the ability to advocate and execute them.

18. Jam, *moreover.*

19. Descriptos, *assigned.*

20. Confectum putabat, *did he consider it accomplished. Confectum* agrees with *id* as a predicate accusative.—**Quod...occurreret**, *which he did not attend to, engage in.* G. 501, I. The case of *quod* is determined by the nearest verb *obiret. Occurreret* would govern the Dative. *Obeo* and *occurro*, as synonymes, differ from each other only as the simple verbs, *eo* and *curro*, differ.

23. Ego hominem. *Ego* is the subject of *compulissem*, of which *hominem* is the object. In construing, begin with *nisi.* G. 602, III. 1.—**Paratum**, *ready*, i. e., prepared for every emergency.

24. In perditis rebus, *in criminal enterprises.*

25. In castrense latrocinium, *into open robbery*, lit., *robbery pertaining to a camp*, i. e., carried on by means of an army. Cicero speaks of Catiline's military movements, not as warfare, but as robbery.

28. Non ille...Saturnalia, etc.; i. e., he would have appointed an earlier day for the execution of his plans, and would not have made

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TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS.

(Restored by Cav. Canina.)

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the various mistakes which his accomplices have made since he left. See 31 note on *Saturnalibus*, p. 28, line 18.

29. Tanto ante, *so long in advance.*—**Rei publicae**; construe with *exitii ac fati.*

30. Neque commisisset, *nor have permitted.*—**Testes,** *as witnesses;* Predicate Nominative.

34. Quod si; G. 453, 6.

36. Quoad fuit; supply *in urbe, as long as he was here.*—**Occurri atque obstiti,** *I opposed and defeated.* Observe the fitness of *atque*, as *obstiti* implies successful opposition. G. 587, I. 2.

1. Ut levissime dicam, *to say the least.* G. 493, 3. 32

VIII., IX. *The Suppression of the Conspiracy largely due to Divine Interposition.*

6. Nutu atque consilio, *in accordance with the will and purpose.*

7. Conjectura consequi, *to infer*, lit., *to attain by conjecture.*—**Quum, tum vero,** *not only, but in truth.*

8. Humani consilii esse, *to be within the reach of human wisdom.* G. 403.

9. Ita praesentes, *so visibly present.*

10. His temporibus, *in these times*, i. e., at this crisis; Abl. of Time.

11. Illa; explained by the appositives, *visas faces ardoremque caeli*, referring to certain unusual phenomena in the heavens, perhaps some remarkable manifestations of the aurora borealis, attended with brilliant meteors. Cicero also mentions these prodigies in his poem "De Consulatu."

12. Ab occidente, *in the west;* the quarter in which unfavorable omens appeared.—**Ut fulminum,** etc. Supply *omittam.* Cicero doubtless here refers to the thunder said to have been heard at this time from a clear sky.

14. Ita multa facta sunt, *have happened in such numbers*, lit., *so many.*

15. Canere, *to predict*, lit., *to sing.* The secondary meaning is derived from the fact that oracular responses were given in verse.

16. Praetermittendum, relinquendum. The former means *to overlook* unintentionally, the latter *to omit* intentionally.

17. Cotta et Torquato consulibus; i. e., in the year 65 B. C., when L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus were consuls.

18. In Capitolio, *in the Capitol*, i. e., in the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill.—**De caelo,** *from heaven*, i. e., with lightning.

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32 **20. Legum aera,** *the brazen tablets of the laws*, i. e., the tablets on which the laws were engraved.

21. Tactus, *was struck.* Supply *est.*—**Ille Romulus,** *the statue of that Romulus.*

22. Quem inauratum...meministis, *which* (lit., *whom*) *you remember to have been in the Capitol, a gilded statue of a sucking infant* (lit., *gilded, small and sucking*), *opening his mouth for the dugs of a wolf.* Legend represented Romulus as having been nursed in infancy by a she-wolf. The famous Bronze Wolf in the modern Capitol at Rome is supposed by many to be the identical statue of which Cicero here speaks.

24. Haruspices ex tota Etruria. On extraordinary occasions, soothsayers were sometimes invited to Rome from Etruria, as the Romans originally derived all their knowledge of divination from that country.

25. Caedes ; subject of *appropinquare.*

28. Flexissent. Mood and Tense in the Direct Discourse? G. 532, 4.

29. Illorum responsis, *in accordance with their responses.* G. 414, 2.

31. Iidemque, *they also*, i. e., the soothsayers.—**Simulacrum** ; object of *facere*, whose subject is to be supplied, perhaps *nos.*

32. Majus, *larger*, i. e., larger than the one which was struck by lightning.—**Contra atque ante fuerat,** *a direction opposite to that in which the former statue had stood.* That faced towards the west, this towards the east.

34. Illud signum quod videtis, *that statue which you behold.* It was just finished.

35. Fore ut, *it would come to pass that.* G. 544.

36. Ut possent, *so that they could ;* Subj. of Result after *illustrarentur.*

33 **1. Illud signum collocandum locaverunt,** *contracted to have that statue placed*, i. e., made and placed as described (*in excelso*).

3. Neque superioribus...nobis, *neither in the preceding consulships* (i. e., those of the two preceding years) *nor in ours.* With *nobis* supply *consulibus ;* Abl. Absol.

6. Mente captus, *bereft of reason*, lit., *captured* (fettered, helpless) *in mind.*—*Mente*, Abl. of Specification.—**Qui neget,** *as to deny ;* Relative of Result.

8. Quum esset ita responsum ; i. e., by the soothsayers. G. 518, II. 1. *Ita* is explained by *caedes...comparari*, and may be omitted in rendering.

10. Et ea, *and that too.* G. 451, 2. *Ea* is the subject of *comparari*, to be supplied.

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13. Illud; explained by *ut, quum...ducerentur.*—**Ita praesens,** *so* 33
clearly divine; i. e., showing the divine presence.

14. Quum ducerentur; G. 527.

15. Eorum indices, *the witnesses against them.*—*Eorum,* Objective Genitive.—**Aedem Concordiae**; situated on the slope of the Capitoline Hill, near the Forum.

20. Quo, *for this reason;* i. e., because they are opposing the gods; Abl. of Cause.—**Odio**; G. 419, IV.—**Qui sunt conati.** Observe the force of the Indicative, *who have* (actually) *attempted.*

23. Quibus; referring to *isti qui.*—**Si dicam**; G. 509.

24. Et non sim ferendus, *and should be unendurable,* i. e., insufferably arrogant.—**Ille, ille Juppiter,** *that, that Jupiter,* pointing to the statue just erected.

26. Diis immortalibus ducibus, *under the guidance of the immortal gods.* G. 431, 2.—**Ego hanc mentem...suscepi,** *I conceived this purpose and desire. Ego,* emphatic, in contrast with *diis.*

29. Creditae. *Nunquam essent* belongs to *creditae,* as well as to *commissae.*—**Et ignotis et barbaris,** *to those who were both strangers and barbarians;* i. e., to the ambassadors of the Allobroges.

30. Commissaeque...essent, *and letters would never have been committed to them.* Supply *iis* referring to *ignotis et barbaris.*

31. Huic tantae audaciae, *from this so great audacity,* i. e., from this so audacious conspiracy; the abstract for the concrete. G. 386, 2.

32. Ut homines Galli. In rendering begin with *id non...putatis,* p. 34, line 1.—**Ut...negligerent...anteponerent**; Mixed Result, in apposition with *id.* G. 495, 3.—**Ex civitate male pacata,** *from a state scarcely subjugated.*

33. Quae videatur; G. 501, II.

34. Posse et non nolle, *to be able and not unwilling.* Retain the Litotes. G. 705, VI.

35. Rerum amplissimarum, *of the greatest advantages.*—**A patriciis hominibus,** *by patricians;* i. e., among the conspirators, as Lentulus, Cethegus, and others.

36. Suis opibus, *to their own interests.* G. 386.

2. Qui superare potuerint, *since they might have conquered.* G. 34
519.—**Tacendo**; i. e., by not revealing the conspiracy.

X. *The People are exhorted to give Thanks to the Gods.*

4. Ad omnia pulvinaria, *at all the altars.* The *pulvinaria* are couches arranged around tables spread with viands for the gods. On

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34 festive occasions of this kind, the statues of the gods were placed upon these couches as if to partake of the offerings made to them.

5. **Celebratote**; G. 537.—**Illos dies**; i. e., the several days of thanksgiving.

7. **Habiti sunt**, *have been rendered.*

10. **Togati**, *in the garb of peace.* It agrees with *vos*, understood.—**Me uno...imperatore.** See p. 23, line 24.

11. **Recordamini**; Imperative.

13. **L. Sulla**, etc. The events here referred to belong to the year 88 B. C. The tribune, P. Sulpicius, proposed a law transferring the command in the Mithridatic War from Sulla to Marius; whereupon Sulla, who had not yet left Italy, marched with his legions to Rome, put Sulpicius to death, and banished Marius and others.

14. **Custodem hujus urbis.** Marius is so called because he saved Rome from invasion by the Cimbri and Teutones, 102 and 101 B. C.

15. **Partim, partim**, *either, or;* i. e., he banished *some* and slew *others.*—**Cn. Octavius.** In the year 87 B. C., Cn. Octavius, a partisan of Sulla, drove his own colleague, Cinna, out of the city; but, before the close of the year, Cinna and Marius returned, became masters of Rome, and were elected consuls for the ensuing year.

16. **Hic locus**; i. e., the Forum.

19. **Lumina civitatis.** Among these were Cn. Octavius, the consul, M. Antonius, the orator, and Q. Lutatius Catulus, the victor in the Cimbrian War.—**Ultus est...Sulla.** This was in the year 82 B. C. The bloody proscriptions of Sulla were terrible.

20. **Dici opus est**; G. 419, 3, 2), (2).

21. **Quanta deminutione.** One writer says upwards of 70,000 citizens were put to death.—*Deminutione* and *calamitate* limit *ultus sit*, to be supplied.

22. **M. Lepidus.** Marcus Lepidus, consul 78 B. C., attempted to rescind Sulla's laws, but was opposed by his colleague, Quintus Catulus. He was compelled to flee, and died in exile. He was not, however, very much lamented. As Cicero says: "*Attulit non tam ipsius interitus rei publicae luctum quam ceterorum.*"

23. **Ipsius**; i. e., of Lepidus.—**Rei publicae**; Dative.

25. **Atque tamen**, *and yet;* i. e., *though* they aimed merely to change the constitution, *yet.*

27. **Illi**, *they;* i. e., the leaders in these dissensions.

28. **Hanc urbem.** Subject of *conflagrare.*

29. **Reconciliatione**, *by the restoration.*

31. **Uno maximo**, *without exception the greatest*, lit., *alone the greatest.*

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33. **Sua gente**, *with its own race*, i. e, with barbarians.—**Haec lex.** Explained by *ut omnes qui...ducerentur.*—**Lentulo, Cethego, Cassio.** See notes on *P. Lentulo*, p. 26, line 20; *C. Cethegus*, p. 27, line 15; and *L. Cassio*, p. 28, line 7. 34

34. **Salva urbe**; Abl. Absol.

36. **Quum**, *though.*

1. **Tantum civium**, *as many citizens*, i. e., only as many, lit., *as much of citizens.* *Civium*, Partitive Genitive.—**Quantum restitisset**, *as should have withstood.* The Future Perfect would have been used in the Direct Discourse. 35

2. **Tantum.** Supply *superfuturum esse.*

3. **Integros incolumesque**, *untouched* (whole) *and unharmed.* See Syn. L. C. 321.

XI. *Cicero asks no other Reward than the Grateful Recollection, on the Part of the People, of his Consulship.*

5. **Rebus**, *services.*

8. **In animis vestris**; construe with *condi et collocari.* Why at the beginning of the sentence? G. 594, I.

10. **Nihil mutum**, *nothing mute*, i. e., no dumb and lifeless memorial or statue.

11. **Quod possint**; G. 501, I.

12. **Minus digni**, *the less worthy.* G. 441, 1.—**Memoria vestra**, *in your memory*, lit., *by means of*, etc.; Abl. of Means.—**Res nostrae alentur**, *my* (lit., *our*) *deeds will be kept alive.*

13. **Litterarum.** See Lat. Comp. 440, 2.

14. **Eandemque diem intelligo propagatam**, etc., *I feel assured that the same duration has been granted both to*, etc.; i. e., as long as the state endures, so long will the recollection of my consulship be cherished.

18. **Alter, alter**, *the one, the other;* the former referring to Pompey, who had just won such glory in the Mithridatic War; the latter, to Cicero, who had just crushed this terrible conspiracy against the life of the state.—**Non terrae...regionibus**, *by the boundaries not of the earth, but of the heavens;* an exaggeration somewhat extravagant.

XII.—*Conclusion.*

21. **Earum rerum...fortuna, quae illorum**; G. 595.

22. **Eadem, quae**, *the same, as.* G. 451, 5.—**Est**; G. 463, 3.—

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35 **Illorum**, *that of those.* *Illorum* depends upon *fortuna* and *condicio* understood. G. 397, 1, 1).

25. Vestrum est, *it is your duty.* G. 404, 1. The subject of *est* is *providere.*

26. Mea; i. e., *facta mea.* Subject of *obsint.*—**Ne obsint**; G. 492, 1.—**Mentes**, *designs.* Subject of *possent.*

28. Ne mihi noceant...providere. This the Roman people failed to do. Accordingly, five years afterwards, Cicero was compelled to go into exile in consequence of his treatment of the conspirators.—**Vestrum.** Predicate Adjective agreeing with the subject *providere.*

29. Mihi ipsi nihil noceri potest, *I myself cannot be injured at all.* G. 301, 3. *Nihil;* Accus. of Specification.

32. Diguitas, *authority.*

33. Quam qui negligunt, *and those who disregard this*, lit., *which who disregard.* G. 453, 3. The antecedent of *quam* is *vis*, that of *qui* is omitted. G. 445, 6.

35. Nobis; G. 446, 2.

36. Nullius; G. 457, 2.

36 **2. Converterit**; Fut. Perf.—**Vobis**; G. 388, 1, 1).

5. Quod possit; G. 501, I.—**Ad vitae fructum**, *as the reward of life*, lit., *to* or *for the*, etc. *Fructum* here does not mean *enjoyment*, but that which is produced, *the fruit, reward, result.*

6. In honore vestro, *among the honors in your gift*, lit., *in your honor*, i. e., honor conferred by you. *Vestro* is equivalent to the Subjective Genitive. G. 398, 3. Cicero had already attained the very highest of all these honors, the consulship. He had reached the summit of a Roman's ambition.

8. Illud. Explained by *ut ea quae gessi...ornem.*

9. Ut tuear atque ornem, *to maintain and adorn.* Cicero means that in future life it will be his aim to maintain and illustrate the very principles which have controlled his conduct during his consulship.

10. Conservanda re publica, *in preserving the republic*, lit., *by*, etc.; Abl. of Means.

11. Mihi valeat ad gloriam, *may redound to my glory*, lit., *may avail to me for glory.*

12. Meminerim. Explain Mood and Tense. G. 489; 297, I. 2.

13. Gesserim. Subjunctive by Attraction.—**Ea.** Subject of *videantur.*

15. Jovem illum. See note on *ille*, *ille Juppiter*, p. 33, line 24.

18. Aeque ac priore nocte, *in the same manner as last night.* G. 587, I. 2.

19. Id, *this;* explained by *ea custodiis vigiliisque defendite.*

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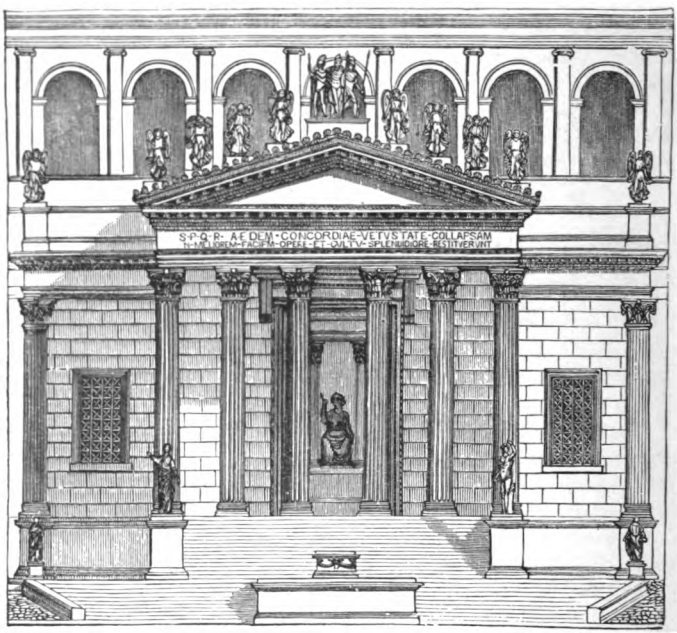

TEMPLE OF CONCORD.

(Restored by Cav. Canina.)

p. 199.

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FOURTH ORATION AGAINST CATILINE, DELIVERED IN THE SENATE, IN THE TEMPLE OF CONCORD, ON THE FIFTH OF DECEMBER, 63 B. C.*

ANALYSIS.

I. Introduction. I., II.

II. Statement of the Case. Two Different Measures proposed for the Disposition of the Prisoners. III., IV.

III. The Relative Advantages and Disadvantages of these two Measures. V.—VIII.

IV. The Duty of the Senate to the State and to the Consul. IX., X.

V. Conclusion. XI.

I., II. *Introduction. Cicero thanks the Senate for their kind Solicitude in his Behalf, but begs them to consult only the Public Welfare.*

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1. In me...conversos. The eyes of all are turned to the consul, 37
not only in anxious expectation of the part he is to take in this important debate, but also in deep solicitude for his personal safety.

2. Vestro. With *vestro* and *rei publicae*, supply *periculo* from line 4.

3. Si id depulsum sit, *if that* (your danger) *should be warded off*, i. e., by the execution of the conspirators now in custody.

4. Jucunda, grata. See Syn. L. C. 216.

5. Voluntas, *kind solicitude*, not merely *good-will*, as the word generally means, since in that sense Cicero would scarcely say *eam deponite.*

6. Salutis; G. 406, II.

7. Vestris, *yours;* i. e., your families. G. 441, 1.—**Mihi si... data est**, *if the consulship was given me on this condition*, lit., *if this condition of the consulship*, etc.

10. Dum modo...pariatur; G. 503, I.; 505.

12. Cui non forum. Observe that the predicate *unquam vacua* (vacuum) *mortis periculo atque insidiis*, is expressed only with the last of the several subjects. See note on *in foro*, p. 13, line 10.

13. In quo...continetur. The Forum was the place where justice was administered.—**Campus**; i. e., the Campus Martius, in which the consular elections were held.—**Consularibus auspiciis**, *by*

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* See Introduction, p. 141.

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37 *the consular auspices*, i. e., by the auspices which were always taken on the occasion of an election.

14. Summum auxilium, *the highest refuge;* because in the senate-house were heard the causes of all nations in alliance with Rome.

16. Haec sedes honoris; i. e., the curule chair, the official chair of the consul.

17. Periculo; G. 419, III.

18. Multa tacui. Cicero had ascertained many facts in regard to the conspiracy, perhaps implicating prominent citizens, which he had not deemed it wise to make public.—**Multa...dolore sanavi**, *I have remedied many things with some pain to myself.*—**Meo**, *to myself*, lit., *my.* G. 398, 3.

20. Ut...eriperem. In apposition with *exitum.* G. 495, 3.—**Vos.** Object of *eriperem.*

38 **1. Virginesque Vestales.** See note on *post virginum absolutionem*, p. 28, line 15.

5. Subeatur, *let it be endured;* Subj. of Desire. The subject is *ea*, understood, referring to *fortuna.*—**Suum nomen**; i. e., Cornelius. See note on *ex fatis Sibyllinis*, p. 28, line 10.

6. Vatibus; i. e., *haruspicibus.* See p. 28, lines 9 to 12: *Lentulum ...ex fatis Sibyllinis haruspicumque responsis, se esse...necesse.*

7. Laeter; Potential Subj.—**Ad salutem prope fatalem**, *appointed by fate to secure the safety*, lit., *to the safety. Fatalem* is here used out of its ordinary signification as shown in *fatale ad perniciem*, *fated* carrying with it the idea of *doom, destruction;* in using it here in a good sense, Cicero therefore qualifies it by the addition of *prope*, showing that he does not take the *full* meaning of the word, but only as much of it as the context requires, viz., *appointed by fate.*

9. Vobis; G. 385, 3.

11. Mihi parcere desinite. Cicero begs the senate not to be deterred from adopting vigorous measures by any fear of the consequences to himself.

13. Pro eo ac mereor, *in proportion as I deserve*, lit., *in proportion to that* (pro eo), viz., *as I deserve* (ac mereor).

14. Relaturos esse gratiam, *will recompense.* See Syn. L. C. 548, 3.—**Obtigerit.** Cicero uses this word in preference to *acciderit*, to imply that danger and death have no terrors for him.

15. Aequo animo paratoque, *with equanimity and readiness*, lit., *with an even and prepared mind.* G. 597, II.—**Neque turpis mors forti viro**, etc. Because to die *bravely* was, in the opinion of the Romans, an honor.

16. Neque immatura consulari. Because he who had attained

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the consulship had already reached the goal of a Roman's ambition. 38
Immatura agrees with *mors*, understood, and *consulari* with *viro*.—**Neque misera sapienti**. Because *the wise* taught that death was no evil, and must always be met with perfect calmness and composure.

17. Ille ferreus, qui non movear, *that iron-hearted man who is not moved — so iron-hearted as not to be moved.*—**Fratris**; i. e., of his brother *Quintus*.

19. Horum omnium; i. e., Cicero's personal friends.

20. Neque non saepe, *and often*. The two negatives cancel each other. G. 585.

21. Uxor; i. e., his wife Terentia.—**Filia**; his daughter Tullia.—**Parvulus filius**; his little son Marcus, two years old.

22. Tamquam obsidem. Because parental affection would cause him to put forth all his strength to save the state.

23. Ille gener; i. e., his son-in-law, C. Calpurnius Piso, the husband of Tullia. He was not a senator, but was present as a spectator.

24. In conspectu meo. Perhaps at the door of the temple in which the senate met.—**Moveor**. Observe its emphatic position.

25. In eam partem, uti, *to the end that*, lit., *into this part, that*. *Partem* is explained by the clause, *uti salvi sint*, etc.

26. Quam pereamus; G. 496, 2.

27. Una peste, *in* (lit., *by*) *one common destruction*.

30. Non Ti. Gracchus. Here introduce the predicate, *in discrimen ... adducitur*, before *quod*.—**Iterum tribunus**. G. 547, I. He wished to be reëlected for the next year, which was illegal. See note on *P. Scipio*, p. 1, line 20.

31. C. Gracchus. See note on *C. Gracchus*, p. 2, line 14.—**Agrarios**, *the supporters of the agrarian laws*. See note on *P. Scipio*, p. 1, line 20.

32. L. Saturninus. See p. 2, line 17; also note on *C. Mario*, p. 2, line 16.

33. Discrimen, *critical situation, crisis*.—**In vestrae ... judicium adducitur**, *is brought to trial before your stern tribunal. In judicium adducere* is *to bring before a judge*.

34. Tenentur, *are held*, i. e., in custody.—**Vestram omnium caedem**; G. 397, 3.

36. Tenentur, *are in our possession*.

2. Ut nemo ne ... quidem relinquatur, *that no one may be left* 39
even to deplore. On *nemo ne quidem*, see G. 585, 2; and on *relinquatur*, G. 495, 3.

3. Deplorandum; Gerundive agreeing with *nomen*, not Gerund. G. 565, 3.

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III. *Statement of the Case before the Senate.*

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39 **6. Rei**; from *reus*.

7. Vos...judicavistis, *you have already pronounced judgment in many decisions*, i. e., by your previous decrees in regard to the conspiracy you are already committed to vigorous measures. These several decrees are specified in the clauses introduced by *quod*, as *primum quod, deinde quod*, etc.

8. Singularibus verbis, *in remarkably strong terms.*

13. Qui honos, *an honor which*, lit., *which honor*. Lat. Comp. 477, 2.

14. Habitus est nemini, *has been conferred upon no one.*

15. Praemia amplissima. Observe the emphatic position of *amplissima*. It is not known in what these rewards consisted, probably in money. The senate had previously offered to any one who would give the requisite information in regard to the conspiracy, a large reward in money, with freedom, if a slave, and with full pardon, if himself implicated in it.

16. Ejus modi; Predicate Genitive.

19. Referre ad vos, tamquam integrum, *to refer to you the whole question anew*, lit., *to refer it to you as if whole*, i. e., untouched, new.—**Tamquam**, *as if*, is used to remind the senators that the question is not new, but one upon which they are already virtually committed.

20. De facto, de poena. The two points to be settled—the *fact* of the guilt or innocence of the prisoners, and the *punishment* to be inflicted.

21. Praedicam, *I will first state.* Observe the force of *prae.*—**Consulis**; Predicate Genitive.

22. Versari, *was prevalent.*

23. Misceri et concitari, *were devised and produced*, lit., *to be stirred up and excited.* These words are here used to denote the *disorder* and *confusion* which are the ordinary attendants of these evils, if not essential elements in them.—**Jam pridem videbam**; G. 467, 2, 1).

24. Haberi, *was fostered.*

25. Quidquid est. This general statement, *however the case stands*, is explained and amplified in *quocumque...sententiae.* On Mood, see G. 475, 3.

26. Ante noctem. Because the case required prompt action, and because no decree could be passed after sunset.

27. Delatum sit, *has been reported.* Observe the difference in

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meaning between *defero*, as here used, and *refero*, line 19 above. *Defero* 39
is *to report* or *state* the case, i. e., give information in regard to it, while *refero* is *to refer* the case to another's decision.

28. Huic affines, *concerned in this.* G. 391.

29. Latius opinione, *more widely than is generally supposed.* G. 417, 6.

31. Serpens; Participle.

32. Sustentando et prolatando, *by forbearing and delaying.*

IV. *Two Different Measures proposed for the Disposition of the Prisoners.*

34. Unam; i. e., *sententiam.*—**D. Silani.** Decimus Silanus was consul-elect.

35. Haec. See note on *haec*, p. 8, line 32.

36. C. Caesaris. Gaius Julius Caesar, then praetor-elect, afterwards dictator.—**Removet, amplectitur**, *rejects, but includes*, i. e., in his recommendation. Observe the asyndeton. G. 704, I. 1; 587, III. 4.

2. Pro rerum magnitudine, *in accordance with the greatness of* 40
the crisis.—**In...versatur**, *insists upon*, etc.

3. Alter, *the one*, i. e., Silanus; subject of *putat.*—**Vita**; Abl. of Separation.

5. Punctum; G. 378.—**Vita**; G. 419, I.

8. Recordatur, *he remembers.* Cicero assumes this. Some interpreters take *recordatur* in the sense of *commemorat*, a meaning which it seldom, if ever, has in classical writers.—**Alter**, *the other*, i. e., Caesar. —**Intelligit**, *thinks.*

10. Laborum quietem, *as a rest from labors.* G. 393, 1. *Quietem;* Predicate Accus. after *esse constitutam.*

11. Itaque eam...inventa sunt. These are Cicero's words, adopting Caesar's recommendation and carrying it out to its final issue, to show how great severity it really involves.—**Sapientes**, *the wise*, i. e., those technically so called, *philosophers*, especially the *Stoics*, who professed to regard death with perfect indifference.—**Inviti**; G. 443.

12. Vincula vero, et ea sempiterna, *but imprisonment, and that for life*, lit., *bonds and those*, etc. G. 451, 2.

14. Municipiis dispertiri, *that they* (the prisoners) *should be distributed among the free towns*, i. e., to be held by them in confinement. These towns, enjoying, indeed, the rights of Roman citizenship, were so far free that they were governed by their own laws.—*Municipiis*, Dative after *dispertiri.*—**Ista res**, *that plan of yours;* addressed to Caesar. G.

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40 450.—**Iniquitatem, si...velis.** Because we have no right to impose such a burden upon them.—**Si velis**; G. 511, II.

15. Difficultatem, si rogare. Because they would probably refuse.

16. Ego suscipiam, *I will undertake it*, i. e., the task of carrying out your decree.

17. Reperiam, qui non putent...recusare, *I shall find those who will not think it consistent with their dignity to refuse. Dignitatis*, Predicate Gen. after *esse*, whose subject is *recusare.*

18. Adjungit gravem. Observe that Cicero is giving a running commentary upon the proposition of Caesar. The several items contained in that proposition are stated separately, and each one is immediately followed by the comments of Cicero upon it. Thus, *Municipiis dispertiri jubet* is Caesar's proposition; *Habere videtur...recusare*, Cicero's comment; *Adjungit gravem...ruperit*, Caesar's proposition again; *Horribiles custodias...perditorum*, Cicero's comment.

19. Eorum vincula, *their bonds*, lit., *of them*, i. e., of the prisoners.

20. Scelere; G. 419, IV.

21. Eorum; construe with *poenam.*

22. Per senatum, *through the agency of the senate*, i. e., by procuring a decree of the senate to that effect.

25. Multas uno...aerumnas, *he would have removed by a single pang all the sufferings of mind and body.*

27. In vita, *in life*, i. e., during this life.

28. Ejus modi quaedam supplicia, *some such punishments*, i. e., such as to answer the purpose, *ut aliqua...esset posita.*

29. Voluerunt, *assumed*, lit., *wished*, i. e., would have it, insisted upon it.

30. Iis; i. e., *suppliciis.*

V. *Remarks upon Caesar's Opinion.*

32. Mea quid intersit; viz., to favor Caesar's measure. G. 408, 1, 2); 408, 2.

34. Quae popularis habetur, *which is regarded as the popular one*, i. e., in the interest of the people. Caesar belonged to the people's party.

35. Hoc auctore et cognitore, *with him as the author and advocate;* Abl. Absol.

36. Illam alteram, *that other opinion*, i. e., that of Silanus. Supply *sententiam eritis secuti.*

41 **1. Nescio an...contrahatur,** *I am inclined to think more trouble may be brought upon me.* G. 526, 2, 2).—*Contrahatur;* G. 525.

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2. Meorum...rationes, *considerations of my dangers.* 41

4. Majorum ejus. The Julian gens, to which Caesar belonged, had long been illustrious.

5. Intellectum est, *it was perceived*, i. e., as he spoke; Perfect Indefinite: hence *intercesset*, not *intersit.*

7. Saluti populi consulentem. These words are added to define the term *vere popularem.* The learner must not fail to notice the different senses in which this term is used. Coming as it does from *populus*, its primary signification is *belonging to*, or *relating to*, *the people.* With this general meaning it has three principal applications: 1. *Belonging to the party of the people*, a political application; 2. *Devoted to the interests of the people*, as in this instance and in line 22; 3. *Having the favor of the people*, *popular* in the usual sense of the term, as in line 26. Caesar belonged politically to the party of the people; the term *populares* was, therefore, applicable to him in the first sense, and Cicero here pays him the flattering compliment of applying it to him in the second sense.

9. Non neminem, *some one.* Observe the difference between *non nemo* and *nemo non.* G. 585, 1. It is not known who this senator was.—**De capite.** Questions which thus involved the life of a Roman citizen could be tried only before the Centuriate Assembly. The senate, therefore, had no legal right to condemn the conspirators to death.

10. Nudius tertius; also written as one word = nunc dies tertius, *the day before yesterday.*

12. Jam, *now;* i. e., in view of these facts, marking a connection of thought, not mere time.—**Hoc**, *this*, explained by *quid de tota...judicarit*, which should be construed before *qui reo*, etc.

13. Qui, *he who.* The omitted antecedent of *qui* is the pronoun *is*, the subject of *judicarit.*—**Quaesitori gratulationem**, *a thanksgiving in honor of* (lit., *to*) *the investigating officer*, referring to Cicero, who conducted in person the investigation in the senate two days before.

15. At vero C. Caesar; in contrast with the senator just mentioned.—**Legem Sempronium.** Caesar, in opposing the sentence of capital punishment, had appealed to certain statutes, among which was the Sempronian law, which provided that the punishment of death should not be inflicted upon a Roman citizen without the vote of the people. To this Cicero replies that the enemies of the state are not citizens, and, therefore, not protected by this law.

17. Civem; Predicate Accus.—**Ipsum latorem...dependisse**; i. e., C. Gracchus, the very author of this law, was put to death as a public enemy, without trial before the people. Hence Catiline and other

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41 public enemies may be treated in the same way. See note on *C. Gracchus*, p. 2, line 14.

18. **Poenas rei publicae dependisse**, *paid the penalty to the state. Rei publicae*, Dative.

19. **Idem**; i. e., Caesar.—**Largitorem et prodigum**, *though liberal and prodigal.* This lavish expenditure of money for party purposes would tend to make him popular in certain quarters.

21. **Cogitarit**; G. 518, I.—**Etiam**, *still*; i. e., longer.

22. **Popularem**, *a friend of the people.*—**Homo mitissimus**, *although a very merciful man*; in apposition with the omitted subject *is*, referring to Caesar.

23. **Aeternis**, *perpetual*, i. e., for life.

24. **Ne quis...esse possit**; Direct Object and Purpose of *sancit.* **Hujus supplicio...se jactare**, *to attract attention* (lit., *to display himself*) *by mitigating his punishment.*

25. **In perniciem**, *to the ruin.*

VI. *Remarks upon the Opinion of Silanus.*

29. **Hoc**, *this course*, i. e., the one just mentioned, as recommended by Caesar.—**Statueritis, dederitis**; Fut. Perf. to mark the *completion* of the action, though the English idiom requires the Future.

30. **Comitem**; i. e., Caesar.—**Ad contionem**, *for the assembly*; i. e., for the assembly of the people, to which he will communicate the decision of the senate. Caesar, the people's favorite, could readily obtain their approval of the bill of which he was himself the mover. Observe that *contio* is an informal assembly convened to listen to addresses and receive communications, but with no power to transact public business. The assembly of the people for the transaction of business was called *comitia.*

32. **Vituperatione**, *from the charge.* G. 425, 2, 2).—**Exsolvet.** Why not Fut. Perf. like *dederitis?* Because the action will not be *completed* at the time of *malueritis*, but will be subsequent to it.

33. **Obtinebo**, *I shall show*, lit., *obtain*, i. e., obtain the assent of the people to my proposition, viz., *eam multo leniorem fuisse.*

34. **In immanitate puniendа**, *in punishing the enormity.*

36. **Ita mihi...perfrui liceat, ut ego moveor**, *as I hope to enjoy...I am actuated*, i. e., as true as it is that I hope to enjoy...so true is it that I am actuated, lit., *may it be permitted me to enjoy...so as I am actuated*, i. e., only in case I am actuated. It is a form of emphatic assertion and asseveration. G. 488, 4.—**Re publica**; G. 419, I.

42 1. **Vehementior**; G. 444, 1.

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2. Me mitior; G. 417.

5. Subito; Adverb.—**Cerno**. See Syn. L. C. 592.

6. Animo, *in imagination*, lit., *by the mind;* Abl. of Means.—**Insepultos**. This word renders the picture peculiarly shocking when we consider the importance which the ancients attached to the rite of burial, as essential to the peace of the soul in the lower world.

7. Mihi ante oculos, *before my eyes*. G. 398, 5.

8. Bacchantis, *revelling*, agreeing with *Cethegi*.

9. Regnantem. Cicero purposely selects an offensive term to give effect to his picture. So *purpuratum*, suggestive of oriental despotism. G. 551, 4.—**Ex fatis**; i. e., *ex fatis Sibyllinis*. See p. 28, line 10.

10. Purpuratum...Gabinium, *that Gabinius is his prime minister;* lit., *clad in purple*.

13. Vehementer...misera; G. 594, III.

17. De servo non sumpserit, *should not inflict upon the servant*, lit., *take from*, with the idea of taking satisfaction from.—**Quam acerbissimum**; G. 170, 2, 2).

18. An=an potius, *or rather*.

19. Mihi vero. Supply *videatur*.

20. Importunus, *unfeeling*.—**Qui non lenierit**, *if he would not assuage*. *Qui*=*si is*. G. 503, III; 513. This language, adopted for present effect, does great injustice to Cicero's own philosophy.

21. Sic nos. *Nos* is the subject of *habebimur*, line 27.—**In his hominibus**, *in the case of these men*, i. e., of the conspirators.

25. Id egerunt, ut collocarent, *attempted to place*, lit., *pursued this* (viz.) *that they might place*. *Id* is explained by *ut collocarent*.—**In vestigiis**, *in the ruins*.

28. Nobis fama subeunda est, *we must endure the infamy*.

30. Niso vero; G. 503, 3.—**L. Caesar**. Lucius Caesar, who had been consul during the preceding year. His sister Julia had married Lentulus as her second husband.

31. Rei publicae; G. 399, 2, 1).

32. Sororis, *of his sister*, i. e., Julia.—**Virum**, *the husband*, i. e., Lentulus the conspirator.

33. Vita; Abl. of Separation.—**Quum avum...dixit**. Lucius Caesar mentioned these instances merely to show that it was by no means an unprecedented thing to punish the enemies of the state with death.—**Avum suum**, *his grandfather*, M. Fulvius Flaccus, mentioned in the first oration, p. 2, line 15, as *M. Fulvius consularis*, consul 125 B. C., put to death as a partisan of C. Gracchus by order of the consul L. Opimius. See note on *M. Fulvius*, p. 2, line 15.

34. Filiumque ejus. Why not *suum* instead of *ejus?* Because

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42 the reference is to *avum*, not to *Caesar*. *Suum* would mean *his* — Caesar's.—**Impuberem.** He was eighteen years old.—**Legatum a patre missum,** *though sent by his father as an ambassador*, i. e., to ask terms of settlement from the consul. The imprisonment and execution of this youth must be regarded as cruel and inexcusable.

35. Quorum quod simile factum, *what act of theirs was similar?* i. e., to this of the conspirators. *Quorum* depends upon *factum*.

43 **1. Largitionis voluntas,** *a spirit of bribery*, lit., *the desire of giving*, i. e., of giving for the purpose of securing popularity, referring especially to the distribution of grain among the poorer classes, in accordance with the *lex frumentaria* of C. Gracchus.

3. Avus Lentuli. See note on *imago avi tui*, p. 28, line 35.

4. Est persecutus, *proceeded against.* He was one of the party under the consul Opimius which made the attack upon C. Gracchus.—**Ille,** *he*, the grandfather.

5. Ne quid...deminueretur, *that the highest public welfare might suffer no detriment*, lit., *that nothing should be*, etc.

7. Nos, *us*, the consul and senators.—**Trucidandos.** G. 565, 3.

10. Vereamini; Potential Subj.—**Censeo**; in irony. G. 705, IV. 1.—**Ne videamini**; G. 492, 4, 1).

VII., VIII. *The Government is fully prepared to execute any Decree which the Senate may be pleased to pass.*

15. Quae exaudio, *which I hear. Exaudio* is *to hear from a distance, to overhear.* The reference in *ea quae* is probably to remarks made by senators among themselves.

17. Satis praesidii, *sufficient force.* G. 396, III. 2, 4).

20. Quum, tum, *not only, but also.*

21. Majore; construe with *voluntate.*—**Ad summum...retinendum,** *for maintaining the highest welfare of the empire.*

26. Templi; i. e., the Temple of Concord.

27. Sentirent unum atque idem, *entertained one and the same sentiment.* G. 501, II.; 482, 1.

29. Soli; G. 547, I.—**Hosce homines**; i. e., those referred to in *eos qui*, in the preceding sentence.

35. Ita concedunt, ut certent, *they so yield as to vie;* i. e., they yield in one particular only to vie in another.—**Summam ordinis consiliique,** *precedence in* (lit., *of*) *rank and counsel.*

44 **1. Ex dissensione hujus ordinis revocatos,** *restored after* (lit., *out of*) *a quarrel of many years with this body.* Construe *hujus ordinis* — *ab* (or *cum*) *hoc ordine* with *dissensione.* In the year 122 B. C. the

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Sempronian law transferred the judicial power from the senate to the 44
knights. This was the cause of the quarrel, which continued until the Aurelian law, 70 B. C., conferred the judicial power jointly upon the senate, the knights, and the tribunes of the treasury. The reconciliation partially effected by this compromise, was completed by the presence of a common foe in this reckless conspiracy.

3. **Si perpetuam tenuerimus**, *if we shall retain forever*, lit., *perpetual*. *Perpetuam* agrees with *conjunctionem*.

8. **Tribunos aerarios**, *tribunes of the treasury*. These tribunes, employed originally to collect the tribute, had been recently raised by the Aurelian law to the rank of a distinct order in the state.—**Scribas**, *the public clerks*. These were employed as registers and secretaries in the various departments of the state service. As a class, they formed a distinct order.

9. **Casu**, *by chance*. The *chance* consisted simply in the fact that it happened to be the fifth of December (the Nones), the day on which the most important clerkships were distributed among the clerks by lot.—**Aerarium**, *the treasury*. This was in the Temple of Saturn, near the Temple of Concord, in which the senate was assembled.—**Frequentasset**, *had brought in great numbers*.

10. **Sortis**, *of the lot*, i. e., of the lot by which the clerkships were distributed.

11. **Ingenuorum**, *of freeborn citizens*.

16. **Operae pretium est cognoscere**, *it is worth while to observe*.

17. **Studia**, *the zeal;* plural, because in connection with the plural *hominum*.—**Fortunam hujus civitatis**, *the privilege of citizenship in this state*, lit., *of this citizenship*.

19. **Summo loco nati**, *born in the highest rank*. G. 422, 1, 1).

24. **Servus est nemo**, *there is no slave*. *Servus* is emphatic in contrast with *hosce homines* above. Even the *slaves* who have no fortunes, no political rights, no freedom, now evince true devotion to country. *Nemo* is here used as an adjective.—**Qui modo . . . sit servitutis**, *provided only he be in a tolerable condition of servitude*. G. 503.—**Tolerabili condicione** ; Abl. of Characteristic.

26. **Tantum** ; construe with *voluntatis*, *as much good-will*.—**Quantum audeat**, *as he dares*, intimating that his master's relation to the conspiracy may be such as to render it somewhat perilous for him to show his good-will to the state.

28. **Si quem**, etc. The real conclusion is omitted, viz., *I will say this*, i. e., *est id quidem*, etc.—**Hoc**, *this*, explained by the clause *lenonem Lentuli . . . imperitorum*, in apposition with it.

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44 **30. Tabernas**, *the shops*, i. e., the shops, or stalls, of the artisans and of the small traders.

32. Fortuna miseri, *wretched in their condition.* G. 429.—**Voluntate perditi**, *abandoned in feeling*, i. e., in their feelings or good-will to the state.

33. Qui non velint, *as not to wish.* G. 500.

35. Hunc, *this*, i. e., that which he enjoys at this time.

45 **2. Otii**; G. 399, 2, 2).—**Omne instrumentum**, *every means*; i. e., of gaining a livelihood.

4. Quorum; i. e., *eorum qui in tabernis sunt.*

5. Quid tandem...fuit, *what, pray, would have been the result, if they had been burned?* lit., *they having been burned.* G. 510, 2. See note on *tandem*, p. 1, line 1.

IX. *Prompt and Decisive Action on the Part of the Senate demanded by the Exigencies of the Case.*

7. Praesidia. This refers to the readiness with which all classes of citizens united for the defence of the state.

9. Ex media morte, *from the midst of death*; referring to the attempt made to assassinate him in his own house. G. 441, 6.

12. Obsessa facibus et telis, *beset by the fire-brands and weapons.* These words commence a beautiful personification of country.

14. Vitam, *the lives.* Observe the use of the singular where our idiom requires the plural. See also *vita* and *anima*, line 18 below.

15. Aras Penatium. These altars stood in the *atrium*, a large and important apartment in the central portion of the house.—**Ignem illum Vestae sempiternum**, *that perpetual fire of Vesta*, i. e., the sacred fire which was kept burning day and night in the Temple of Vesta. G. 450, 4.

17. Praeterea de vestra vita...judicandum est. Cicero would impress upon the senate the vast importance of the decision about to be made. Every thing which a Roman holds dear depends upon it.

19. Focis. The *focus* (*fireplace, hearth*) was a square platform of stone, or brick, raised a few inches above the level of the floor. It was in the *atrium.*

21. Sui; G. 406, II.—**Quae facultas**, *an advantage which*, lit., *which advantage.* Lat. Comp. 477, 2.

23. Id quod, *a state of things which*, lit., *that which. Id* is in apposition with the general idea contained in *populum Romanum unum atque idem sentientem.*—**In civili causa**, *upon a political question*, lit., *in a civil cause*, as opposed to a foreign war.

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25. Cogitate quantis...imperium una...delerit. This is a 45
good illustration of the vigor and precision which often characterize an abridged Latin sentence. The full form would be as follows: *Cogitate quantis laboribus imperium fundatum sit quod una nox paene delevit.* By the use of the participle for the verb *fundatum sit*, the relative *quod* became unnecessary, and was accordingly omitted, and the verb *delevit* being thus brought into an indirect question after *quantis*, was changed to the subjunctive *delerit* = *deleverit*. Render either according to the full form or as follows: *Consider how nearly one night destroyed* (or *how one night well nigh destroyed*) *our empire founded by how great labors*, etc.

27. Una nox; i. e., the night of the second of December, when the ambassadors of the Allobroges were captured at the Mulvian bridge. See Oration III., Chap. II.

28. Id ne unquam...possit, *that it may never be possible that this should be, not to say* (non modo) *accomplished, but even thought of.*

30. Studio; Abl. of Specification.

31. Excitarem; G. 482, 1.

32. Princeps, *foremost.*—**Officio consulari**, *its duty, as that of the consul.*

X. *Cicero, with a Full Appreciation of the Dangers which threaten him personally, assures the Senate that he can never regret the Measures which he has adopted to save his Country.*

34. Antequam ad sententiam redeo, *before I resume asking your opinions*, lit., *return to the opinion to be asked.* With *sententiam* supply *rogandam.* The consul, as the presiding officer, called in succession upon the senators for the expression of their opinion. Several had already been called upon when Cicero pronounced the present oration. He is now about to close, and will then resume his duties as presiding officer; hence *ad sententiam* (*rogandam*) *redeo.*

4. Me factorum; G. 410, III. 46

6. Quam mihi minitantur, *with which they threaten me*, lit., *which they threaten to me.*

7. Vitae tantam laudem, *so great glory during life*, lit., *of life*, in contrast with *mors.*—**Quanta vos me honestastis**, *as you have honored me with. Quanta*, Abl. agreeing with *laude* understood.

8. Nemo, *no one*, i. e., no one else.

9. Conservatae rei publicae, *for the preservation of the state*, lit., *of the state preserved.* G. 393, 1; 580.

11. Sit; Subj. of Desire.—**Scipio**; i. e., P. Cornelius Scipio Africa-

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46 nus Major, who brought the second Punic War to a close by a signal victory over Hannibal at the battle of Zama, 202 B. C.

13. Alter Africanus, *the second Africanus.* This was P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor, who brought the third Punic War to a close by the destruction of Carthage, 146 B. C., and took Numantia, in Spain, 133 B. C. He was the son of L. Aemilius Paullus, mentioned in line 15, and the grandson, by adoption, of Scipio Africanus Major, the conqueror of Hannibal.

15. Paullus ille. L. Aemilius Paullus, who conquered Perses, King of Macedonia, 168 B. C.—**Cujus currum Perses honestavit.** Perses graced the triumphal procession of Paullus by being led as a captive king before his chariot.

16. Quondam; G. 597, II.—**Nobilissimus**; construe with *rex.*—**Perses.** The form *Perseus* is used in Livy.

17. Sit aeterna gloria Marius, *let Marius be held in eternal glory.* G. 428, 1, 2).—**Marius, qui bis**, etc. Gaius Marius, who conquered the Teutones 102 B. C., and the Cimbri 101 B. C.

18. Pompeius. Gnaeus Pompey. See p. 35, line 17; *quorum alter fines vestri imperii non terrae, sed caeli regionibus terminaret.* Also note on *alter, alter*, p. 35, line 18.

19. Cujus res gestae...continentur; i. e, the fame of whose deeds fills the world.—**Res gestae**, *deeds.*—**Iisdem quibus...regionibus ac terminis**, *by the same boundaries and limits as.* G. 451, 5.

21. Aliquid loci; G. 438, 5.—**Nisi forte**, *unless perchance;* in irony.

22. Majus, *a greater thing*, i. e., a greater and more important achievement.

23. Ut illi, qui absunt, habeant, etc.; i. e., even those who are absent making conquests and opening provinces, like Pompey, need a home to which they may return in triumph.—**Habeant quo**, *may have a country to which*, lit., *may have whither.*—**Victores**, *as victors;* in apposition with the omitted subject of *revertantur.* G. 363, 2.

25. Quamquam, *and yet;* i. e., notwithstanding the priceless value of a victory over domestic foes.—**Uno loco**, *in one respect;* Abl. of Specification.

27. Beneficio obligatos, *placed under obligation by the favor.*

28. Qui autem, etc. Begin with *autem*, followed by the antecedent clause: *quum eos...reppuleris.*—**Ex numero civium**, *out of the number* (body) *of citizens*, in contrast with *hostes patriae;* i. e., have ceased to be *citizens*, and have become *enemies of their country.*

31. Mihi susceptum esse, *that I have undertaken.* G. 388, 1.

32. Id, *this;* subject of *posse.*

47 **1. Tanta quae possit**, *so great as to be able.*—**Conjunctionem**

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vestram...Romanorum, *your union with the Roman knights.* *Vestram* = vestri, *the union of you and the Roman knights.* This union was, however, of short duration. 47

2. Conspirationem, *unanimity.*

XI. *Conclusion.*

4. Pro imperio...insignibus. Each consul at the expiration of his term of office, was usually appointed proconsul, or governor, of a province, with the command (*pro imperio*) of the army (*pro exercitu*) in the province. The rich province of Macedonia fell to the lot of Cicero, but he transferred this to his colleague, Antonius, to secure his coöperation, and received in return the province of Cisalpine Gaul, which he afterwards resigned, that he might the better guard his country.

5. Pro triumpho; i. e., the triumph which he might have secured as proconsul of Macedonia.

6. Urbis; construe with *salutis.*

7. Pro clientelis hospitiisque, *for the clientships and friendships.* As proconsul, Cicero would have had an opportunity of establishing numerous friendly relations with prominent citizens in his province. Even towns and cities not unfrequently made the proconsul their patron.

8. Quae, *relations which.* *Quae*, though referring grammatically to *clientelis hospitiisque*, refers logically to the connections which he had actually made, and not to those which he might have made as proconsul. Thus, Cicero was the patron of the Sicilians, and, as such, conducted in their behalf the important prosecution against Verres. The efforts which he makes to retain these relations show how highly he prizes them, though for his country's sake he cheerfully waives the privilege of forming new ones.—**Urbanis opibus**, *by my influence in the city.*

9. Igitur. This resumes the thought, like our *then*, or *I say.*

10. Studiis, *zealous efforts*, instances in which I have shown my zeal. Lat. Comp. 411.

16. Cui erit, *who will have.* *Cui*, Dat. of Possessor.

18. Suo solius periculo, *by his peril alone.* G. 397, 3.—**Conservaverit**; Subj. by Attraction. G. 527.

21. Aris ac focis. See notes on *aras Penatium*, p. 45, line 15, and *focis*, p. 45, line 19. Observe that the synonymes are arranged in pairs; *aris ac focis, fanis ac templis, tectis ac sedibus.*—**Fanis.** *Fanum* is a *consecrated place*, used especially of the chapels consecrated to inferior gods.

24. Ut instituistis, *as you have begun to do*; i. e., in the opinions already expressed by senators during this spirited debate.

26. Quoad vivet; G. 522, I. (1).—**Per se ipsum praestare**, *to carry into effect by his own efforts.*

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ORATION FOR THE POET ARCHIAS,

DELIVERED IN COURT BEFORE THE PRAETOR, QUINTUS CICERO, IN THE YEAR 62 B. C.

INTRODUCTION.

THE poet, A. Licinius Archias, whom Cicero here defends, was a native of Antioch, in Syria. He early acquired a reputation among his fellow-citizens by his poetical gifts and his ready wit, and subsequently during an extended course of travel through various parts of Asia Minor, Greece, and Southern Italy, he became a general favorite with the refined and cultivated, was welcomed to the best society, and loaded with honors. Cities and states attested their appreciation of his rare gifts by conferring upon him the rights of citizenship.

In the year 102 B. C., in the consulship of Marius and Catulus, Archias, still a young man, came to Rome, where he made the acquaintance of many distinguished and influential citizens, and became the special favorite of the Luculli. He afterwards accompanied Marcus Lucullus to Sicily, and, on his way back to Rome, visited Heraclea, in Lucania, where he was honored with the right of citizenship.

In the year 89 B. C., a law was enacted extending the Roman franchise to all residents in Italy who were already enrolled as citizens in any allied town, provided they presented their names to the praetor within sixty days. Archias at once availed himself of the provisions of this law by presenting his name for registration to the praetor, Quintus Metellus. When, however, the Roman census was next taken, in the year 86 B. C., and again in 70 B. C., he was absent from Rome in the retinue of Lucullus, and accordingly was not enrolled in the censors' lists. Taking advantage of this fact, a certain Gratius brought an action against him on the charge of having illegally assumed the franchise, and demanded that the Papian law, which required the removal of all foreigners from Rome, should be enforced against him.

Cicero, who appears to have been both the friend and the

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pupil of Archias, at once undertook the defence. He proved that his client was in the strictest sense a Roman citizen, as the three conditions specified in the law had all been fulfilled: 1. He had been enrolled as a citizen of Heraclea, as was proved by the testimony of her citizens and of Lucullus, though the archives of the town could not be produced in proof, as they had been destroyed by fire; 2. He resided in Italy when the law was enacted; 3. He presented his name within the prescribed time to the praetor, as the record of the transaction itself showed.

Having thus completed the directly argumentative portion of the defence, the orator proceeded in the second place to set forth the praises of poetry and letters, to enlarge upon the value of a life devoted to polite and learned pursuits, and thus to show that the presence of Archias in Rome was a public blessing, and that even if he were not already a citizen, it would be the best and wisest course for the state to confer the franchise upon him, rather than lose the society and services of so valuable a man and so gifted a poet.

The result of the trial is not known, though there seem to be good reasons for the opinion that the defence was successful.

ANALYSIS.

I. Introduction. I., II.
II. Brief Outline of the Early Life of Archias. III.
III. Proof of the Citizenship of Archias. IV., V.
IV. The Value of Poetry and Letters. The Presence of Archias in Rome a Public Blessing. VI.—XI.
V. Conclusion. XII.

I., II. *Introduction. Cicero acknowledges his Indebtedness to Archias as his Teacher and Friend; proposes to conduct the Suit in a somewhat novel way, and states the Two Points which he intends to establish.*

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1. Ingenii, exercitatio, ratio. Cicero here mentions the three 48
requisites essential for the profession of the orator—*talent, a theoretical knowledge* (ratio) *of the art, and the skill derived from practice* (exercita-

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48 tio). He places the *theoretical knowledge* (ratio) last, because he wishes to call special attention to it, as he had derived it largely from his teacher, Archias.—**Judices.** This word is usually rendered *judges*, but the duties of the *judices* were not the same as those of *judges* with us, but rather those of our *jurors*. In this trial the *judices* do not preside, but the praetor, Quintus Tullius Cicero.—**Quod sentio...exiguum**, *and I perceive how small it is. Quod*, subject of *sit*. G. 525.

3. Mediocriter versatum, *moderately well versed.* **Hujusce rei — dicendi**; i. e., of oratory.

4. Ab profecta, *derived from.*—**Optimarum artium**; i. e., philosophy, history, grammar, rhetoric, and poetry.—**A qua**, *from which*, i. e., from the study or pursuit of it. *Qua* refers to *ratione.*

5. Abhorruisse, *has been free.* Cicero was ever a diligent student. During the busiest periods of his life, he devoted his leisure hours to reading and study.

6. Earum rerum; i. e., the three requisites mentioned above.—**A. Licinius**; i. e., A. Licinius Archias.—**Fructum a me...debet.** Cicero thinks that his teacher, Archias, is fairly entitled to share the fruit of the instructions which he had imparted to him in youth.

7. Repetere, *to demand in return*, i. e., for his instructions.—**Prope suo jure**, *as almost his own by right*, lit., *almost in* (by) *his own right. Prope* is added, as *suo jure* without such qualification, would be too strong.—**Quoad longissime...respicere**, *as far back as my mind can possibly review.*

9. Ultimam, *the earliest.*—**Inde usque repetens**, *recalling even from that period.* Archias came to Rome when Cicero was only five years of age.

10. Hunc mihi principem exstitisse, *that he was my chief guide.*

11. Rationem...studiorum, *this course of study* (studies).

12. Conformata, *trained.*—**Nonnullis saluti**; G. 390.

13. A quo. The antecedent is *huic ipsi*, which with the antecedent clause is best rendered first.—**Quo**, *by which*, referring to *id.*—**Ceteris, alios.** *Ceteris* means *the others, the rest*, i. e., all except Archias; but *alios* means *others*, i. e., others in contrast with Archias; not, however, *all others*, but *some others.*

16. Hoc ita. *Ita* is added only for emphasis. The thought would be complete without it.—**Quod sit**; G. 520, II.

17. In hoc, *in this man*, i. e., in Archias.—**Neque haec dicendi ratio**, *and not this knowledge of oratory.* As Archias was a poet, and not an orator, some might wonder that Cicero should feel so much indebted to him.

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18. Ne nos quidem. In rendering, supply the ellipsis before these 48
words, as *I state*, or, *let me tell you.*—**Huic uni studio penitus,** *exclusively to this one study*, i. e., to oratory. Cicero had also tried his hand at poetry.

19. Humanitatem, *a liberal education.*

21. Quasi cognatione quadam, *by a kind of relationship.*

22. Me. Subject of *uti*, line 4, next page.—**In quaestione legitima,** *in a legal question.*

1. In judicio publico, *in a state trial. Judicium publicum* is a 49
trial to which the state is a party, while *judicium privatum* is a trial between individuals.—**Quum res agatur,** *when a case is tried.* G. 518, II.

2. Praetorem; i. e., Quintus Tullius Cicero, the orator's brother, then praetor.

3. Tanto conventu, *with so great an assemblage;* Abl. of Manner, giving the *attendant circumstances*, though it may be explained as Abl. Absolute.

4. Hoc genere quod abhorreat, *such a kind as differs.* G. 419. *Hoc* = tali.

7. Vobis; construe with *molestam.*—**Quem ad modum**; also written as one word.

8. Ut...patiamini. In apposition with *hanc veniam.*

10. Hac vestra humanitate, *with such liberal culture among you.* —**Hoc praetore.** The praetor, the brother of the orator, was himself a man of refinement and culture, a poet and an historian.—**Exercente judicium,** *conducting the trial*, i. e., as the presiding officer.

12. Liberius, *more freely than usual.*—**In ejus modi persona,** *in the case of a character of this kind*, i. e., of such a kind as that of Archias.—**Propter otium ac studium,** *on account of his retired life and literary pursuits.*

13. Minime in...tractata est, *has been very seldom* (lit., *very little*) *presented in courts and trials.*

15. Perficiam, ut putetis, *I shall cause you to think*, lit., *that you may think*, i. e., I shall convince you.

17. Si non esset; G. 532, 2, 1). The conclusion is *adsciscendum fuisse*, which in the Direct Discourse would have been *adsciscendus erat*, or *fuit.* G. 510, 2.

III. *Brief Outline of the Early Life of Archias.*

19. Nam ut primum, *now as soon as. Nam* (*for* or *now*) refers to the preceding sentence.—**Ex pueris excessit,** *emerged from boyhood,*

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49 i. e., at the age of fifteen, the recognized limit of boyhood in Greece, though not at Rome. See Lat. Comp. 408.

20. Ab . . . artibus; construe with *contulit*.—**Aetas puerilis**, *boyhood.*

21. Scribendi, *of composition*, especially of poétic composition.—**Primum**, *first.* The correlative is *post* in line 25.—**Antiochiae**, *at Antioch*, an important city on the river Orontes, in Syria. G. 421, II.

22. Loco nobili, *of a noble family.* G. 422, 1, 1).—**Celebri urbe**; G. 423, 3, 3).

24. Affluenti, *rich, abounding.*

25. Contigit; supply *ei; it was his good fortune*, lit., *it happened to him.*—**Asiae**; i. e., Asia Minor, the usual meaning of the word in Latin writers, sometimes including Syria, as in this instance.

26. Sic ejus...celebrabantur, *his coming was so much talked of*, i. e., excited such interest.—**Adventus.** Observe the plural, referring to the various instances of his coming, where we use the singular.—**Famam.** Object of *superaret.*

27. Exspectatio hominis, *the anticipation in regard to the man.*—**Ipsius adventus admiratioque**, *his arrival itself and the admiration he excited.*

28. Italia. *Italia*, as distinguished from Latium, the country of the Latin tongue, means Southern Italy, also called *Magna Graecia.*

29. Disciplinarum, *learning.* G. 399, 2, 2).

31. Propter tranquillitatem; i. e., from the death of C. Gracchus, 121 B. C., to the commencement of the Social War, 90 B. C.

32. Hunc civitate, praemiis donarunt; G. 384, 1.—**Tarentini, Regini, Neapolitani.** *Tarentum, Regium*, and *Neapolis*, were Greek towns in Southern Italy.

34. Aliquid judicare, *to form any correct judgment. Aliquid*, lit., *any thing*, often means *any thing* of value and importance.—**Cognitione**, *acquaintance.* G. 419, IV.

36. Absentibus, *to those at a distance*, i. e., his reputation extended abroad, even to those who had never seen him.

50 **1. Mario...Catulo**; i. e., 102 B. C. This was the fourth consulship of Marius.

2. Eos, *such.*—**Quorum posset**; G. 500.—**Alter**, *the one;* i. e., Marius, whose victories over the Cimbri and the Teutones furnished Archias a stirring theme for his muse.

3. Alter, *the other;* i. e., Q. Lutatius Catulus, who was both a soldier and a man of letters. He shared with Marius the victory over the Cimbri; hence *res gestas.*—**Studium atque aures**, *taste* (i. e., a fondness for literary studies) *and an appreciative ear.*

4. Luculli. Cicero refers, doubtless, to the family of L. Licinius

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Lucullus, especially to the two sons, Lucius, who afterwards commanded 50
against Mithridates, and Marcus, who triumphed over the Dardanians of Macedonia, 71 B. C.—**Praetextatus**, *a youth;* lit., *clad in the toga praetexta*, which was worn by Roman boys till they reached the age of seventeen. Here the word must not be taken literally, because, as Archias was a foreigner, he would not be allowed to assume the Roman dress.

5. **Sed jam hoc...ingenii**, *but this again* (jam) *was the result not only of his genius*, lit., *was of.*—**Hoc**, *this*, viz., *ut domus...senectuti.*—**Ingenii**; Predicate Genitive after *fuit* understood. G. 402, I.

6. **Naturae**, *of his natural disposition.*

7. **Domus**; viz., that of the Luculli.—**Hujus adolescentiae, senectuti**, *to him in youth, in old age;* lit., *to his youth, to his old age.*

8. **Eadem**; G. 451, 3.

9. **Q. Metello Numidico.** A celebrated warrior and a generous patron of letters, surnamed *Numidicus* from his victories over Jugurtha, King of Numidia.—**Pio filio.** The son, Quintus Metellus, was surnamed *Pius* on account of his efforts in behalf of his exiled father.

10. **M. Aemilio.** Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, a statesman and orator.—**Vivebat cum**, *he associated with.*—**Q. Catulo et patre et filio.** The father was the Catulus mentioned in line 1. See also note on *alter*, line 3. The son was a prominent politician, consul 78 B. C.

11. **L. Crasso.** The celebrated orator, consul 95 B. C.—**Lucullos.** See note on *Luculli*, line 4.—**Drusum.** M. Livius Drusus, an active tribune of the people.

12. **Octavios.** Cn. Octavius, consul 87 B. C., his son Lucius, consul 75 B. C., and a second Cn. Octavius, consul 76 B. C.—**Catonem.** Probably M. Porcius Cato, a tribune of the people, grandson of Cato the Censor, and father of Cato Uticensis.—**Hortensiorum.** Of this illustrious family, by far the most distinguished was Quintus Hortensius, the orator.—**Devinctam consuetudine**, *bound to him by ties of friendly intercourse.*

13. **Afficiebatur summo honore**, *he was most highly honored*, not merely by those mentioned above, but by others who gathered about him, because he had been noticed by such distinguished men.

15. **Si qui forte**, *any who*, lit., *if perchance any.*—**Simulabant.** Supply *se studere.*

IV., V. *Proof of the Citizenship of Archias.*

17. **Satis longo intervallo**, *after a somewhat long interval.* G. 431. —**Cum M. Lucullo.** See note on *Luculli*, line 4. The object of this journey on the part of Lucullus is not known.

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50 **19. Decederet.** Observe the force of the Imperfect, *was returning*, lit., *was departing*.—**Heracliam.** A city of Lucania, on the bay of Tarentum. G. 379.

20. Aequissimo jure ac foedere, *with very favorable privileges and treaty-rights.* G. 428. This city, having been in close alliance with Rome for upwards of two centuries, enjoyed unusual rights and privileges.—**Ascribi se in,** *to be enrolled in*, lit., *into.*

21. Quum...tum auctoritate, *both because...and through the influence.*

23. Civitas; i. e., Roman citizenship, the Roman franchise.—**Silvani lege et Carbonis.** This law, proposed by M. Plautius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo, tribunes of the people, was passed in the year 89 B. C.—**Si qui**—iis qui, *to those who*, lit., *if any. Iis*, thus implied in *si qui*, is the Indirect Object of *data est*.—**Si qui...professi.** Cicero here gives, in the form of the Oratio Obliqua, the three conditions upon which citizenship was conferred under this law. See Introduction, p. 214.

25. Ferebatur; G. 527, 2, 1).—**Sexaginta diebus,** *within sixty days*, i. e., after the passage of the law.

26. Essent professi, *should enter their names.*

28. Q. Metellum. This was Q. Metellus Pius, mentioned above in line 9; *ejus Pio filio.* He was praetor in the year 89 B. C.

29. De civitate, *of his citizenship*, i. e., in Rome.

30. Causa dicta est, *the defence is finished.*

31. Grati; G. 45, 5, 2). This suit was brought by a certain *Gratius*, of whom nothing further is known.

34. Sed egisse, *but that he accomplished it.* See line 22 above; *auctoritate et gratia Luculli*, etc.

36. Publico testimonio, *official proof.*

51 **1. Hic,** *under these circumstances*, i. e., although you thus have the most ample proof.—**Tabulas publicas,** *the state records.* Gratius denied that Archias was a citizen of Heraclea, and challenged Cicero to prove it from the records of that city. But, unfortunately, those records had been destroyed by fire during the Social War.

2. Italico bello. Called also the Social, or the Marsian War.

5. Litterarum, *of the records*, referring to *tabulas publicas.*

6. Quum, *although.*—**Viri**; i. e., of Lucullus.—**Religionem,** *the testimony*, called *religio* because given under oath.—**Integerrimi municipii**; i. e., Heraclea. This city received the Roman franchise and became a *municipium* under the Julian law in the year 90 B. C. It was previously a free city in alliance with Rome. It is called *integerrimi* because it remained loyal during the Social War.

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8. **Quas idem dicis**, *which you also say;* a remark which Gratius 61
seems to have made in regard to the records of Q. Metellus, as may be inferred from the following chapter.

10. **Tot annis**; G. 427, 1, (2).—**Ante civitatem datam**; G. 580.

12. **Quae solae ex illa**, etc., *which alone of that registration and board of praetors have the authority of public records;* i. e., of all the records made at that time by the different praetors, those of Metellus alone were trustworthy.

15. **Quum**, *though*, or *while;* concessive.—**Appii tabulae.** Cicero proceeds to contrast the records made by Metellus, in which the name of Archias appears, with those made by his associates, Appius Claudius and Q. Gabinius. Those of Appius were not properly taken care of. Forgeries might have been introduced into them. The recklessness of Gabinius, and his condemnation on the charge of extortion, destroyed the value of his register; but the records of Metellus were executed and preserved with the most scrupulous care.

16. **Quam diu incolumis fuit**; i. e., before he was tried, in contrast with *post damnationem.* Gabinius was tried and condemned on the charge of extortion.

17. **Resignasset**, *had destroyed.* The subject is *levitas* and *calamitas*, taken separately.

18. **Modestissimus**, *most scrupulous.*

20. **Venerit**; G. 482, 2.—**Unius nominis litura.** This anecdote is told simply to show the scrupulous accuracy of the man.

23. **Quid est quod...dubitetis**; G. 501, I. 1.

26. **Arte**; G. 419, III.—**Graecia**; i. e., Magna Graecia, *Southern Italy.*

27. **Reginos, Neapolitanos**, etc. See note on p. 49, line 32.—**Credo.** In irony. When thus used, it is usually introduced into the sentence parenthetically, without any influence upon the construction.—**Locrenses**, *the Locrians*, in Southern Italy.

28. **Scaenicis artificibus**, *actors*, lit., *stage artists.* The profession of the actor was deemed unworthy of freemen.

30. **Quum irrepserint**; G. 518, II.—**Quum**, *while.*—**Post civitatem datam**; i. e., after the franchise was given to the allied cities by the Julian law, in the year 90 B. C.

31. **Post legem Papiam.** See Introduction, p. 214. After the passage of this law, some foreigners got their names inserted surreptitiously in the registers of the towns.—**Eorum municipiorum.** Regium, Locri, Neapolis, and Tarentum, became *municipia* under the Julian law.

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51 **32. Illis**; i. e., *tabulis.*

35. Census, *the census-rolls.*—**Scilicet.** In irony.—**Obscurum**, *not generally known.*

36. Proximis censoribus, *at the last census;* lit., *at the time of the last censors;* viz., L. Gellius and Cn. Lentulus, 70 B. C.—**Censoribus**; G. 426, 1.—**Cum L. Lucullo**; i. e., in the Mithridatic War. See note on *Luculli*, p. 50, line 4.

52 **1. Apud exercitum**; not *in exercitu*, because Archias was not in service, but only in attendance upon the general.—**Superioribus**; supply *censoribus.* This was in the year 86 B. C., when L. Marcius Philippus and M. Perperna were censors. From 86 B. C. to 70 B. C., the census was not taken.—**Cum eodem quaestore**, *with the same man* (i. e., Lucullus) *then quaestor.* Lucullus was at the time quaestor under Sulla, in the Mithridatic War.

2. Primis; supply *censoribus.* This was in the year 89 B. C., when L. Julius Caesar and P. Licinius Crassus were censors.—**Primis**, *the first*, i. e., after Archias became a Roman citizen. The census was usually taken once in five years, but was sometimes omitted, and sometimes taken at irregular intervals. Thus it was omitted in 89 B. C., was taken three years afterwards, in 86 B. C., and then omitted till 70 B. C.

3. Esse censam, *was rated.*

4. Tantum modo; also written *tantummodo.*—**Ita**, *thus*, i. e., by the fact of enrolment.

5. Iis temporibus...criminaris, *at those very times when you allege that he.*—**Iis temporibus**; Abl. of Time; construe with *fecit.* There is some doubt in regard to the correctness of the text. We should expect, *iis temporibus quibus eum tu criminaris*, etc.

7. Testamentum...Romanorum. This is a proof that Archias considered himself a Roman citizen, as no others could either make wills or become heirs of Roman citizens.—**Legibus**; G. 414, 2.

8. Hereditates...Romanorum, *inheritances left him by* (lit., *of*) *Roman citizens.*—**In beneficiis...delatus est**, *was reported to the treasury among those recommended to favor.* It was customary for military governors to report the names of those under their command who had shown themselves to be especially meritorious.

9. Pro consule; also written *proconsule; as proconsul*, or *military governor.*

10. Nunquam neque; G. 585, 2.—**Suo judicio**, *by his own opinion*, i. e., by any facts adduced to prove that he did not regard himself as a citizen. See above, line 5; *quem tu criminaris ne ipsius quidem judicio*, etc.

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VI., VII. *The Value of Poetry and Letters.*

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12. Tanto opere; also written *tantopere;* Abl. of Manner. 52

13. Suppeditat ubi, *he furnishes that with which*, i. e., his poetry. —**Ubi**, *wherewith, with which*, — *quo* with the antecedent omitted.

14. Convicio. This refers to the noisy wrangling of the court-room.

18. Contentionem, *tension.* The figure is taken from the bending of a bow. Hence *relaxemus*, lit., *unbend.*

20. Se litteris abdiderunt, *have buried themselves in books. Litteris*, Abl. of Means.

22. Vivo, *have lived;* G. 467, 2.

23. Ut a nullius...abstraxerit, *that my desire for leisure has never kept me aloof from any one's peril or advantage;* i. e., he has ever been ready to defend those who were unjustly accused, and to protect them in their rights.

26. Tandem. See note on *tandem*, p. 1, line 1.—**Reprehendat**; G. 486, II.

27. Quantum temporum, *as much time as. Temporum* is placed at the end of the clause for emphasis.—**Ceteris, alii.** These words are both in contrast with *egomet.* Observe the difference in meaning. See note on *ceteris, alios*, p. 48, line 13.

30. Tempestivis conviviis, *to protracted banquets. Tempestiva convivia* were banquets which began early and closed late.

32. Eo, *on this account;* explained by *quod...facultas.*

34. Oratio et facultas, *oratorical ability.* G. 704, II. 2.—**Quantaçumque est**, *such as it is.*

35. Quae si, *if this*, i. e., this ability.

36. Illa quae summa sunt, *those things which are of the highest importance;* i. e., philosophical principles and maxims of practical use in life; a second advantage derived from literary studies.

1. Hauriam; Indirect Question. G. 525. 53

2. Litteris, *literary works.* G. 132.

3. Magno opere; also written *magnopere.*—**In ea persequenda**, *in endeavoring to attain these. Ea*, this, singular, refers to *laudem atque honestatem*, taken as a whole.

5. Parvi esse ducenda, *should be regarded as of little consequence.* G. 402, III. 1. The infinitive depends upon *suasissem.*

7. Profligatorum hominum. Subjective Genitive, referring to Catiline and his accomplices. G. 396, I.

8. Pleni sunt, *are full of this*, i. e., of the truth stated in *nihil esse*

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53 *in vita...esse ducenda.*—**Voces**, *the precepts, sayings.*—**Plena exemplorum vetustas**, *antiquity is full of examples of it.*

9. **Nisi litterarum lumen accederet**, *if the light of literature were not applied to them;* i. e., these examples have been preserved only by history and literature.

10. **Imagines**, *portraitures.*

11. **Non solum ad intuendum**; construe with *expressas, drawn not only*, etc.

13. **Mihi**; construe with *proponens.*

14. **Ipsa cogitatione...excellentium**, *by the very thought of*, etc.; i. e., by reflecting upon their characters.

17. **Litteris**, *in* (by) *literary works;* Abl. of Means.

19. **Est certum quod respondeam**, *it is certain what I am to reply*, i. e., I am not at a loss for an answer.

20. **Animo**; Abl. of Characteristic.

21. **Naturae ipsius...divino**, *by the almost divine character of their natural gifts themselves*, lit., *of nature itself.*

22. **Moderatos et graves**, *men of prudence and character.*

23. **Ad laudem valuisse**, *has been effectual in attaining glory.*

24. **Atque idem ego**, *and yet I.* G. 451, 3.

26. **Ratio quaedam...doctrinae**, *a certain systematic training and moulding of the powers through learning*, lit., *of learning.*

27. **Illud nescio quid...singulare**, *that certain extraordinary and peculiar excellence.*—**Nescio quid** — *aliquid*, or *quiddam*, implies that Cicero knows not what to call it.

28. **Ex hoc numero**, *of this number;* i. e., of the number of those who illustrate the value of rare natural gifts developed by culture.

29. **Africanum**. Scipio Africanus, the younger, the conqueror of Carthage. See note on *alter Africanus*, p. 46, line 13.—**C. Laelium**. Gaius Laelius, surnamed the Wise, the well-known friend of Scipio Africanus, the younger.

30. **L. Furium**. Lucius Furius Philus, distinguished for his love of letters.

31. **Illis temporibus doctissimum**, *for* (lit., *in*) *those times very learned.*

32. **M. Catonem**. Marcus Porcius Cato, the famous Censor, who commenced the study of Greek literature in extreme old age. He is here called *ille senex*, that well-known old man, because he attained the remarkable age of eighty-five, and yet was very prominent and active in the latter years of his life.—**Qui profecto**, *they doubtless.*—**Ad percipiendam...virtutem**, *in comprehending and practising virtue*, lit., *to the comprehending*, etc.

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33. Adjuvarentur; G. 486, 4; 510, 1. The Imperfect is used to denote that the truth is a general one; that the aid received then would be received now under the same circumstances. 53

1. Remissionem, *relaxation.* 54

2. Ceterae. Supply *remissiones*, recreations.—**Neque temporum sunt**, *are not adapted to all times;* lit., *are not of*, etc. *Omnium* belongs to each of the three genitives.

4. Secundas res, adversis; G. 441, 4.

6. Rusticantur, *they are with us at our country seats*, i. e., they there furnish us recreation and intellectual enjoyment. The wealthy Romans usually passed the hot season at their villas in the country.

VIII. *The Remarkable Poetical Talents of Archias.*

7. Haec attingere, *to prosecute these studies.*

10. Roscii. Quintus Roscius, the most celebrated comic actor of his time.

14. Celeritatem, *the rapid action.*

17. Novo genere dicendi. See Chap. II.

18. Quum litteram scripsisset nullam, *when he had not written a single letter.* G. 132; 518, II.

20. Tum agerentur, *were then under discussion.* G. 527, 3.—**Revocatum**, *when requested to repeat*, lit., *called back.*

21. Commutatis...sententiis, *with a complete change of words and thoughts.*

23. Ut ad...perveniret, *that he attained to the praise*, etc. This is extravagant language. By *vetcrum scriptorum*, Cicero means the celebrated Greek poets and authors.

25. Sic; G. 704, II. 6.

26. Doctrina constare, *depends upon learning.* G. 414, 2, 1).

27. Natura ipsa valere, *derives his power from Nature herself*, lit., *is strong by means of Nature herself.*

28. Quasi quodam; G. 456, 2.

29. Suo jure, *in his own right;* as he was himself a poet.—**Noster ille Ennius**, *our well-known Ennius.* Ennius, the father of Roman poetry, was born in Calabria, 239 B. C.

30. Quod videantur; G. 520, II.—**Dono atque munere**, *gift and endowment.*

32. Humanissimos homines, *men of the highest culture;* in contrast with *barbaria.*

33. Poetae; G. 396, V.

34. Voci respondent, *respond to his voice*, i. e., to the poet's voice.

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54 The allusion is probably to the fable of Orpheus, whom the poets feign not only to have charmed wild beasts, but even to have moved trees and rocks by the power of his music.

36. Moveamur; Potential Subj.—**Homerum.** Homer, the celebrated Epic poet of Greece. Seven different cities claimed the honor of being his birthplace.

55 **1. Colophonii.** The citizens of Colophon, a city of Ionia, in Asia Minor.—**Chii.** The citizens of Chios, now Scio, an island in the Aegean Sea, with a city of the same name.

2. Salaminii. The citizens of Salamis, an island in the Saronic Gulf, with a city of the same name.—**Smyrnaei.** The citizens of Smyrna, in Ionia.

3. Permulti alii. The three other cities generally mentioned in this connection are Athens, Rhodes, and Argos.

4. Pugnant inter se; i. e., for the honor of being regarded as his birthplace.

IX. *Archias is entitled to Gratitude for having celebrated Roman Victories in his Verse.*

5. Alienum, *a foreigner.*

7. Noster, *our countryman.*—**Olim**, *already for a long time.*

9. Cimbricas res attigit, *he attempted the subject of the Cimbrian War*, i. e., the victories of Marius over the Cimbri. See note on *custodem hujus urbis*, p. 34, line 14.—**Adolescens**; G. 363, 3.

10. Durior ad, *somewhat insensible to*, i. e., incapable of appreciating.

13. Praeconium, *the heralding.*—**Themistoclem.** Themistocles, the celebrated Athenian statesman and general.

14. Athenis; G. 421.

15. Quod...audiret; Indirect Question.

16. Ejus. Supply *vocem.*—**Ejus a quo...praedicaretur**; Object of *dixisse.*

17. L. Plotium. Lucius Plotius, a Roman orator and rhetorician.

20. Mithridaticum bellum, *the Mithridatic War*, waged by the Romans against Mithridates, King of Pontus.—**In multa varietate**, *with many vicissitudes*, lit., *in much variety*, i. e., of fortune.

21. Totum. This seems to be a rhetorical exaggeration, as the poem of Archias is said to have described only that part of the war when Lucius Lucullus was in command, from 73 B. C., to 66 B. C. The entire war occupied twenty-six years.—**Ab hoc**, *by him*, lit., *this one*, i. e., Archias.

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22. **Qui libri**, *these books;* i. e., the several books into which the 55
poem was divided.

24. **Lucullo imperante**, *with Lucullus as their commander;* Abl. Absol.

25. **Pontum**. An important country in Asia Minor, south of the Euxine Sea.—**Ipsa natura**. Pontus had the Euxine Sea upon the north, and was enclosed upon the other sides by mountains. It was also guarded by seventy-five fortresses.

27. **Armeniorum...fudit**. In the year 69 B. C., in the battle before Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia, southeast of Pontus, Lucullus, with a small force of eleven or twelve thousand, defeated King Tigranes with a force twenty times as large.

28. **Urbem Cyzicenorum**. Cyzicus, a city of Mysia, on the Propontis, was besieged by Mithridates 73 B. C., but was relieved by Lucullus.

30. **Nostra feretur et praedicabitur**, *will be reported and celebrated as ours.—Nostra* agrees with *pugna*, the subject of *feretur* and *praedicabitur*.

33. **Tenedum**, *Tenedus;* an island on the coast of Asia Minor, near which Lucullus gained a signal naval victory, 73 B. C.

34. **Quae quorum...efferuntur**, *by whose genius these deeds* (lit., *which things*) *are celebrated*. The antecedent of *quorum* is *iis*, in the next line. In rendering, begin with the antecedent clause.

35. **Africano superiori**, *to Africanus the elder*. See note on *Scipio*, p. 46, line 11.

36. **Noster Ennius**. See note on *noster ille Ennius*, p. 54, line 29. —**In sepulcro**, *on the sepulchre*.

1. **Esse constitutus ex marmore**, *to have been sculptured in mar-* 56
ble. Livy speaks of three statues upon the tomb of the Scipios, one of which was supposed to be that of Ennius; but, when the tomb was discovered in 1780, no such statues were found.—**Cujus laudibus**; i. e., by the praises bestowed by Ennius upon the elder Africanus, whose eulogy he is said to have written.

3. **Hujus proavus Cato**, *Cato, the great-grandfather of this Cato;* i. e., of Cato the younger. *Hujus* may be applied to him as a contemporary, or may denote that he was present in court. *Proavus Cato* is Cato the Censor. See note on *M. Catonem*, p. 53, line 32.

4. **Tollitur**; i. e., by the praises of Ennius.

5. **Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii**. These are all illustrious names in the history of the second Punic War. Q. Fabius Maximus baffled Hannibal by delay; M. Claudius Marcellus took Syracuse; Q. Fulvius Flaccus recovered Capua.

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X., XI. *As other Writers have been honored and rewarded by Generals and States, so ought Archias to be honored and rewarded by us.*

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56 **7. Rudinum hominem**; i. e., Ennius, a native of Rudiae, in Calabria.

8. In civitatem receperunt, *admitted to citizenship.*

9. In hac; i. e., *civitate.*

11. Nam si quis, etc. A reason for the negative answer which the preceding question requires.—**Graecis versibus.** Archias wrote in Greek, and Ennius in Latin.

13. Graeca, *Greek works.*

14. Exiguis. These limits would include Latium and the Roman colonies. Greek was spoken in Southern Italy; Tuscan or Gallic, in Northern.

16. Pervenerint; Subj. by Attraction. G. 527, 3.

18. Haec, *these things*; i. e., to have one's deeds celebrated in literary works, and thus published to the world.—**Ampla**, *honorable.*

19. De vita, *at the peril of life.*—**Periculorum incitamentum**, *inducement to encounter perils*, lit., *of perils.*

21. Multos scriptores. Among these may be mentioned Aristobulus, Ptolemaeus, Anaximenes, Callisthenes, and Clitarchus. Their works are, however, all lost; but those of Aristobulus and Ptolemaeus were extant in the second century of the Christian era, and furnished the materials for Arrian's history of the campaigns of Alexander.—**Magnus ille Alexander.** Alexander the Great, King of Macedonia and conqueror of the world.

22. Quum adstitisset; G. 518, II.

23. Sigeo; a promontory on the coast of Troy.—**Achillis**, *of Achilles*, the hero of the Iliad of Homer.

24. Qui inveneris; G. 519.—**Vere.** Supply *inquit* or *dixit.*

26. Obruisset; G. 510, 1.

27. Noster hic Magnus. *Hic*, in distinction from *ille*, in *magnus ille Alexander* above. Cn. Pompey, surnamed the Great (*Magnus*), is meant. See note on *Pompeius*, p. 46, line 18. In rendering, begin with *nonne.*

28. Theophanem. Theophanes, a learned Greek of Mitylene, on the island of Lesbos, accompanied Pompey on his expeditions in the East, and wrote a history of his campaigns.

29. Civitate donavit; G. 384, 1.

30. Rustici, *uncultivated*, lit., *from the country, rustic.*

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31. Ejusdem laudis. This refers to the praise bestowed by Theophanes upon Pompey and his army. 56

33. Crēdo. In irony.

34. Ut donaretur; G. 492, 1.

35. Potuit; G. 510, 2; 512, 2.—**Sulla.** L. Cornelius Sulla, a celebrated Roman general, conspicuous in the civil war with Marius. See note on *quas Sulla constituit*, p. 20, line 19.

36. Petentem repudiasset; G. 503, 2, 1); 510.—**Quem**, *the man whom*, i. e., Sulla.

1. Libellum, *a petition;* strictly, any short composition.—**Poeta** 57
de populo, *a poet from among the common people;* i. e., obscure, unknown.

2. In eum, *upon him;* i. e., in his praise.—**Tantum modo...longiusculis**, *only with alternate verses somewhat long;* i. e., it was in the Elegiac Distich, composed of alternate hexameters and pentameters, and this was its *only merit.* Cicero does not mean to criticise the verse, but simply to say that the epigram was *mere verse*, and *not poetry.* G. 676, 2.

3. Ex iis rebus...vendebat; i. e., from the confiscated property of proscribed citizens, which he was then selling. It will be observed that the dictator was entirely unscrupulous in the use of this property.

5. Qui. The antecedent is the pronoun *is*, the omitted subject of *expetisset.*—**Tamen**, *yet;* i. e., notwithstanding the quality of the poetry.

6. Hujus, *of this one*, i. e., of Archias.—**Virtutem**, *excellence.*—**In scribendo.** These words belong to *copiam*, as well as to *virtutem.* G. 597, II.

7. Q. Metello Pio. See notes on *Q. Metello Numidico* and *Pio filio*, p. 50, line 9.

8. Civitate multos donavit; G. 384, 1.

9. Lucullos. See note on *Luculli*, p. 50, line 4.—**Impetravisset.** Potential Subj. Supply *civitatem.*—**Qui...usque eo cuperet**, *especially since he* (Metellus) *so much desired.*

10. Cordubae natis, *born at Cordova*, a town in Spain. Who these poets were is not known. Afterwards, Cordova gave birth to the poet Lucan, and the two Senecas.

11. Pingue quiddam...peregrinum, *though uttering something rude and provincial.*

13. Hoc, *this*, i. e., our love of fame, as stated in *trahimur omnes studio laudis*, etc.

14. Prae nobis ferendum, *must be openly acknowledged.*

15. Optimus quisque; G. 458, 1.

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57 **17. In eo ipso**, *in that very instance.*

18. Despiciunt, *state their contempt for*, lit., *despise.*—**Praedicari de se ac nominari**, *to be spoken of and named*, lit., *that mention should be made of them*, etc.—*Praedicari* is here used impersonally.

19. Decimus Brutus. Decimus Brutus, one of the most distinguished generals of his age, is said to have erected temples and other public edifices from the spoils of war. He was consul 138 B. C.

20. Attii. L. Attius, a Roman tragic poet, born 170 B. C., an intimate friend of Decimus Brutus.

21. Ille Fulvius. M. Fulvius Nobilior, consul 183 B. C. He subjugated Aetolia, in Greece. The poet Ennius accompanied him upon this expedition.

23. Martis, *of Mars*, the god of war, put by *metonymy* for *belli*. G. 705, II.—**Musis.** Fulvius erected a temple in Rome to Hercules and the Muses, and adorned it with the spoils brought from Greece. Among these spoils was the celebrated painting of the Muses, by Zeuxis.

24. Prope armati, *almost with arms still in their hands*, i. e., immediately after their return from war.

25. Togati, *in the garb of peace;* contrasted with *armati.*—**A honore abhorrere**, *to disregard the honor.*

27. Id, *this;* i. e., what is implied in *non a Musarum...abhorrere.*—**Me indicabo**, *I will reveal my own feelings*, lit., *myself.*

28. Quodam amore gloriae. *Quodam* is here used to soften the expression *amore gloriae*, which would otherwise be very strong.

30. Vobiscum simul, *together with you.* The judges, as the representatives of the conservative party, are here addressed as those who had aided and supported him in his consulship.

32. Attigit hic versibus, *he* (Archias) *has undertaken to celebrate in verse.* The undertaking was, however, never consummated.—**Quibus.** This refers to *versibus;* i. e., the verses already composed, as implied in *inchoavit.*

35. Hanc, *this*, i. e., the one just described.—**Laudis**; Gen. of Specification. G. 396, V.

36. Quid est quod exerceamus; G. 501, I. 1.

58 **3. Si nihil...in posterum**, *if the soul did not look forward into the future;* i. e., had no anticipations of the future.

4. Eisdem, i. e., *regionibus, by the same limits.*

6. Frangeret, *exhaust.*—**Angeretur**; G. 465, 1.

7. Nunc, *now indeed*, marking the transition from the supposition, *si nihil animus*, etc., to the actual state of the case.

8. Virtus, *power*, or *principle.*—**Noctes ac dies**; Lat. Comp. 411, 2.

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9. **Non cum vitae...dimetiendam,** *ought not to terminate with,* 58 etc., lit., *to be measured off with.*

XII. *Conclusion.*

12. **Tam parvi animi,** *of so narrow a mind;* Predicate Genitive.

14. **Usque ad extremum spatium,** *even to the last moment,* i. e., of life.

19. **Nonne debemus,** *and ought not we.* Supply *and* in English to connect the two members of the question.

20. **Expressam et politam,** *accurately drawn and nicely finished;* i. e., such an accurate and finished delineation as Archias is capable of giving.—**Omnia.** Object of *spargere* and *disseminare,* of which *me* is the subject. It refers to his public acts as consul.

22. **Haec,** *this;* referring to *memoriam sempiternam.*

23. **A meo sensu abfutura est,** *will be beyond the reach of my consciousness.*—**Sapientissimi homines;** i. e., the philosophers who believed in the immortality of the soul, as Pythagoras, Socrates, and others.

25. **Nunc quidem certe,** *now at all events.*—**Cogitatione quadam speque,** *by some anticipation and hope of it.*

26. **Pudore eo,** *of such modest worth;* Abl. of Characteristic.—**Quem.** This refers to *pudore.*

28. **Vetustate,** *by their long-continued intimacy.*

30. **Causa ejus modi,** *with such a cause. Causa;* Abl. of Characteristic, like *pudore* and *ingenio.*—**Beneficio legis,** *by the favor of the law,* referring to the law of Silvanus and Carbo, which conferred the privilege of citizenship on certain conditions. See p. 50, lines 23 to 26. —**Auctoritate municipii;** i. e., of Heraclea. See p. 59, line 34.

31. **Testimonio Luculli.** See p. 50, line 32.—**Tabulis Metelli.** See p. 51, lines 12 to 22.

32. **Si qua...debet esse,** *if...ought to be of any weight.*

33. **Divina commendatio.** Poets are represented as under the protection of the gods. See p. 54, line 30.

34. **Eum;** Object of *accipiatis,* p. 59, line 3.

35. **Ornavit,** *has celebrated,* i. e., in his works.

36. **His recentibus...periculis...esse;** i. e., by his proposed poem on the consulship of Cicero. *Recentibus periculis* refers to Catiline's conspiracy, suppressed the preceding year.

7. **Omnibus;** G. 388, 1.—**Communiter de ipsius studio,** *con-* 59 *cerning his pursuit in general;* i. e., concerning the profession of a poet.

10. **Qui judicium exercet,** *who conducts the trial,* i. e., who presides over it, viz., the praetor, Quintus Cicero, the brother of the orator.

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ORATION FOR THE MANILIAN LAW,

DELIVERED IN THE FORUM BEFORE THE ROMAN PEOPLE, IN THE YEAR 66 B. C.

INTRODUCTION.

In this oration, Cicero appeared for the first time upon the Rostra before the Roman people. He was already forty-one years of age, and held the important office of praetor. He spoke in support of a bill, proposed by the tribune Manilius, conferring upon Pompey the sole command in the war against Mithridates, King of Pontus.

Gnaeus Pompey, upon whom it was proposed to confer such extraordinary powers, had already greatly distinguished himself in the field, and was rapidly becoming the favorite of the people. His career had been in many respects very remarkable. At the early age of twenty-five he was permitted, contrary to all precedent, to celebrate his victories in Sicily and Africa with the proud pageant of a triumph. Ten years later, his victories in Spain secured him the same honor a second time. He entered the city in triumphal procession on the thirty-first of December, 71 B. C., and, on the following day, entered upon the duties of the consulship to which he had been elected, though legally ineligible, as he had never filled the lower offices of quaestor and praetor. His administration was marked by several bold reforms in the interest of the people.

Three years later, having been appointed under the Gabinian law to the sole command in the war against the pirates, he entered upon a vigorous campaign which, in the brief period of ninety days, was crowned with complete success.

But the Romans were still engaged in another war which required in its leader the rarest gifts and powers. Upwards of twenty years before, Mithridates, King of Pontus, having allied

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himself with Tigranes, King of Armenia, by giving him his daughter in marriage, formed the bold design of expelling the Romans from their extensive possessions in Asia Minor. For a time, brilliant success seemed likely to crown the undertaking. City after city threw open its gates and welcomed the victor as a deliverer from the Roman yoke. Elated by these early successes, he issued an order almost unparalleled in cruelty, for a general massacre of Roman citizens in Asia, an order which was executed with relentless severity. One Roman general after another was sent against him, some of whom achieved great and important results, but still the struggle continued. At length in the year 74 B. C., Lucullus was appointed commander of the Roman armies in Asia. For seven years he prosecuted the war with great vigor and success; he conquered Mithridates, took the greater part of Pontus, invaded Armenia, defeated Tigranes, and took the Armenian capital; but this brilliant career of conquest was finally checked by the disaffection of his soldiers. Accordingly, in the year 67 B. C., he was superseded by Glabrio, who proved to be a very inefficient commander. Mithridates and Tigranes promptly availed themselves of the opportunity thus offered them of recovering the territory and power which they had lost. It was at this crisis in the Roman affairs in the East, that the tribune Caius Manilius, in the spring of 66 B. C., moved that Pompey, who had just achieved such signal success in the war against the pirates, and who was still in Asia at the head of a large and victorious army, should be intrusted with the chief command in the war against Mithridates and Tigranes. The bill, generally known as the Manilian law, proposed to clothe Pompey with almost unlimited power, and accordingly met with violent opposition from Catulus and Hortensius, on the ground that it would be perilous to the best interests of the republic to place such extraordinary powers in the hands of any one man. It was, however, warmly advocated by Caesar and Cicero, and was carried by acclamation.

Pompey, on receiving this appointment, hastened to encounter Mithridates, over whom he soon gained a signal victory. The vanquished king barely escaped with his life, and, unable to find shelter in Armenia, the dominions of his own son-in-law, he made his way through the rugged defiles of the Caucasian Mountains to the Crimea, where he finally terminated his life with his own hand. The kingdom of Pontus became a Roman province,

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Tigranes submitted without a blow, and the king of the Parthians offerred his alliance to the victorious general. Pompey, on his return to Rome after an absence of seven years, celebrated his triumph with great pomp and display. The imposing pageant occupied two entire days.

ANALYSIS.

I. INTRODUCTION. I., II.
II. THE CHARACTER OF THE WAR AGAINST MITHRIDATES. III.—VII.
III. THE GREATNESS AND IMPORTANCE OF THE WAR. VIII., IX.
IV. THE APPOINTMENT OF A COMMANDER TO CONDUCT IT:
  1. POMPEY ALONE HAS THE REQUISITE QUALIFICATIONS. X.—XVI.
  2. REPLY TO THE OBJECTIONS OF HORTENSIUS AND CATULUS. XVII.—XXIII.
V. CONCLUSION. XXIV.

I. *Cicero, in his Introduction to this, his First Effort before the People, states the Reasons which have hitherto deterred him from appearing before them. He thanks them for the Praetorship to which he has just been elected, and promises to use his Influence for the Welfare of the State.*

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60 1. **Frequens conspectus vester**, *the sight of your crowded assembly.*

2. **Hic locus**, *this place;* i. e., the Rostra or platform in the Forum, from which the orator addressed the people. It was called Rostra (*beaks*) because it was adorned with beaks of ships captured from the enemy.—**Autem**; repeat *quamquam, and though.*—**Ad agendum.** Supply *vobiscum* or *cum populo, for treating with you,* i. e., for proposing measures for the action of the people. Only magistrates had the right of thus submitting questions to the vote of the people (*agere cum populo*), but private citizens might address the people by permission from the presiding magistrate.—**Amplissimus**, *the most dignified,* as belonging to magistrates.

3. **Ornatissimus**, *most honorable.*

4. **Hoc aditu laudis**, *from this avenue to fame,* i. e., the Rostra. G. 425, 2.—**Optimo cuique**; G. 458, 1.

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5. **Vitae meae rationes**, *my plans of life.*—**Ab ineunte aetate**, 60
from the commencement of active life.

10. **Temporibus**, *exigencies*, referring to their suits in court.—**Ita neque . . . unquam fuit**, *and thus . . . has never been.* Construe *non*, involved in *neque* = *et non*, with *unquam*, never. *Ita* refers to the course which Cicero has pursued. He tells them that they have lost nothing thereby, as others have ever been ready to advocate their cause.

12. **Periculis**, *suits, lawsuits.*—**Caste integreque**, *honestly and justly*, with an indirect allusion perhaps to the Cincian law, which forbade an advocate to accept presents from his client.

13. **Fructum amplissimum**, *a most ample reward*, i. e., the praetorship to which he had just been elected.

14. **Dilationem comitiorum**, *the adjournment of the comitia*, i. e., of the assembly of the people. In times of great political excitement, the comitia were sometimes adjourned through the influence of one party, to prevent or delay the consummation of the measures proposed by the other party. The interposition of a tribune, an unfavorable omen, or any informality in the proceedings, was at any time a sufficient reason for adjournment. During the recent election, the comitia had been twice adjourned in consequence of the popular excitement in relation to certain bills then pending.—**Praetor primus**; not *first in rank*, as no such distinction is here recognized, but the *one first elected.*

15. **Centuriis cunctis**, *by all the centuries;* i. e., by the people voting in *companies* called *centuries.* The whole assembly consisted of one hundred and ninety-four such centuries. Each century cast one vote, which was first determined by the majority of the individual voters in it. This was the popular assembly of Rome, and yet the whole power was in the hands of the wealthy, as they controlled one hundred out of the one hundred and ninety-four votes.

16. **Quid praescriberetis**; i. e., to follow Cicero's example.

17. **Quantum vos . . . voluistis**, *as you have shown a desire that there should be by conferring honors upon me*, i. e., as much as you have been pleased to confer upon me by electing me to the praetorship.

19. **Ex forensi usu**, *from practice at the bar*, lit., forensic, i. e., in the Forum.

3. **Ei quoque rei**, *for this also;* i. e., for oratorical ability, as im- 61
plied in *dicendo.*

4. **Illud.** Explained by *quod in hac . . . nemini possit.*

6. **In qua possit**; G. 500.

8. **Virtute**, *worth, merits.*

9. **Mihi**; G. 388.—**Copia . . . modus**, *abundance of materials . . . proper limit.*

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II. *Statement of the Case. Plan of the Oration.*

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61 **11. Ut proficiscatur**; G. 493, 3.—**Inde, unde,** *at the point from which.*

13. Vectigalibus, *tributaries;* construe with *infertur.*

14. Mithridate et Tigrane. See Introduction, p. 232.—**Alter relictus**; i. e., Mithridates. Six years before the delivery of this oration, he was utterly defeated by Lucullus, but finally escaped to Armenia, and placed himself under the protection of Tigranes, his son-in-law. In the mean time, the Roman army, occupied with the rich spoils of Pontus, abandoned the pursuit. Thus Mithridates was *left* (*relictus*) undisturbed in his retreat.—**Alter lacessitus**; i. e., Tigranes, who had been greatly exasperated (*lacessitus*) by the loss of his capital. See Introduction, p. 233.

15. Occasionem...oblatam esse. The disaffection in the Roman army, the recall of Lucullus, and the inefficiency of Glabrio, his successor, had furnished them such an opportunity. See Introduction, p. 233.—**Asiam**; i. e., the Roman province in Asia, embracing the western portion of Asia Minor.

16. Arbitrantur. The subject is *alter, alter.*—**Equitibus Romanis.** The Roman knights were the capitalists of Rome, and formed a distinct order, an aristocracy of wealth. They monopolized all lucrative enterprises and all commercial pursuits. Individually or in companies, they usually bought up the public revenues.

18. In vestris vectigalibus...occupatae, *invested in farming your revenues.*

19. Pro necessitudine, *on account of the connection.* By birth, Cicero belonged to the equestrian order.—**Mihi**; Dative of Possessor. G. 387.

21. Bithyniae. Bithynia, a country south of the Euxine Sea, was bequeathed to the Roman people by King Nicomedes III., in the year 74 B. C.—**Vicos exustos esse,** etc.; the import of the letters; dependent upon a verb of saying implied in *afferuntur litterae.* G. 530, 1.

22. Regnum Ariobarzanis; i. e., Cappadocia, south of Pontus.

23. L. Lucullum. See Introduction, p. 233.

24. Huic qui successerit, *he who has succeeded him;* i. e., his successor in command, M'. Acilius Glabrio, consul the preceding year. G. 453, 2, 1); 531.

26. Unum; i. e., Pompey. By speaking in this way, Cicero intimates that Pompey does not need to be named.

27. Imperatorem, *as commander;* Predicate Accusative.

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28. Neminem. Subject of *metui*, to be supplied. 61

30. De genere belli; construe with *esse dicendum.*

31. De imperatore deligendo; G. 562, 3.

32. Ejus modi; also written *ejusmodi.* Predicate Genitive; G. 186, 4; 403.—**Quod debeat**; G. 500.

33. Ad persequendi studium, *to zeal in* (lit., *of*) *prosecuting it.*—**In quo**; G. 453.

34. A majoribus; construe with *tradita est.*—**Quum, tum**; G. 587, I. 5.

2. Quibus amissis, *if these are lost.* G. 431, 2. 62

3. Pacis ornamenta, *the ornaments of peace,* i. e., whatever is requisite in time of peace, the comforts and luxuries of life.—**Subsidia belli,** *the sinews of war,* i. e., means of prosecuting war.—**Requiretis,** *you will seek for in vain.*

4. Multorum civium. Especially of the farmers of the revenues. See preceding page, line 17; *quorum magnae res aguntur, in vestris vectigalibus exercendis occupatae.*—**A vobis**; instead of the Dative, to distinguish the *agent* from the Indirect Object *quibus.* G. 388, 1; 3).

III.—V. *The Glory of the Roman Name and the Welfare of the Roman Allies are in Danger.*

8. Macula. This refers to the great massacre of Roman citizens in Asia, in the early part of the Mithridatic War. It is explained by the clause *quod is qui uno die...denotavit.* See Introduction, p. 233.—**Mithridatico bello**; i. e., in the year 88 B. C. G. 426, 1.—**Penitus jam insedit,** *has already become deep-seated.*

10. Quod is, qui, *that he who,* i. e., Mithridates.

11. Una significatione litterarum, *by the import of a single letter.* The messenger bore a written order from King Mithridates to all his satraps and governors in Asia Minor, to put to death on a certain day all persons of Roman or Italian descent found in their dominions. Eighty thousand lives are said to have been sacrified upon that memorable day.

13. Scelere; G. 419, IV.

14. Annum; G. 378.—**Annum jam...regnat.** G. 467, 2; Lat. Comp. 276, IV.

15. Latebris, *in the retirement,* referring to the remote and retired situation of Pontus and Cappadocia.

16. In vestris vectigalibus; construe with *versari.*

17. In Asiae luce, *in the full light of Asia;* i. e., in our province of Asia, where he can find no hiding-place, but is exposed to the eyes

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62 of all.—*In luce versari* is, of course, in contrast with *latebris occultare.* Mithridates, taking advantage of the recall of Lucullus, had speedily recovered his lost possessions, and was even threatening the allies and tributaries of the Roman people.

19. L. Sulla. L. Cornelius Sulla, afterwards the famous dictator, commanded in what is called the first Mithridatic War, i. e., from 87 to 84 B. C.

20. L. Murena. L. Licinius Murena commanded in the second Mithridatic War, from 83 to 81 B. C.

21. Pulsus; G. 578, IV.

23. Quod egerunt...quod reliquerunt, *for what they did...for what they left undone. Propter id* may be supplied before *quod.* Some critics, regarding *quod* as a conjunction, translate, *because they were active ...because they left the work unfinished.*

24. Sullam res publica revocavit. Sulla was in haste to return to Rome to reëstablish his authority, as his old rivals of the Marian faction were masters of the city. He left his legate, L. Murena, in command in Asia.

26. Reliquum tempus; i. e., after the recall of Murena.—**Non ad oblivionem veteris belli,** *not in allowing the former war to be forgotten;* i. e., by abstaining from all acts of hostility.

28. Postea quam aedificasset; G. 471, 4, 1).

29. Quibuscumque ex gentibus posset, *from whatever races he could.*

30. Et simularet, *and all the while was pretending.* Observe the force of the Imperfect, denoting the continuance of the action.—**Bosporanis,** *the Bosporani,* a people dwelling on the Cimmerian Bosporus, between the Black Sea and the Azof.

32. Ad eos duces; i. e., to Sertorius and his associates, then commanding in Spain in the interest of the Marian faction.

33. Duobus in locis; i. e., in Asia and in Spain.—**Disjunctissimis maximeque diversis,** *most widely separated and in directly opposite parts of the world;* i. e., in the East and in the West. *Maxime diversis,* lit., *most opposite;* G. 170.

34. A binis copiis, *by two armies* (forces). Why not *duabus* instead of *binis?* G. 174, 2, 3).—**Terra marique**; G. 422, 1, 1).

35. De imperio, *for the very existence of the empire.*

63 **1. Alterius partis...Hispaniensis,** *the danger in the one direction, that of Sertorius and Spain.*

3. Pompeii. The war was prosecuted by Pompey for four years with varying success, but the assassination of Sertorius brought it to a sudden conclusion.

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6. Felicitati; Indirect Object of *tribuenda esse*.—**Haec extrema**, 63 *these last events*, i. e., his recent reverses.

7. Fortunae, *to his misfortune.*

8. Alio loco; G. 422, 1, 1). See Chap. VIII., p. 66.

9. Ei; G. 386, 2.—**Detracta**. Supply *esse.*

11. Quoniam is est exorsus, *since this* (i. e., glory) *is the beginning*, i. e., the first topic. See p. 61, line 34, and p. 62, line 6. *Is* is attracted to agree with the predicate noun *exorsus*. G. 445, 4.

12. Suscipiendum. Supply *esse.*—**Putetis**; G. 525.

14. Injuriosius; G. 444, 1.—**Tot milibus**. See note on *una significatione litterarum*, p. 62, line 11.

16. Quo animo; Abl. of Characteristic. G. 428, 1, 2).—**Legati ...appellati superbius.** This seems to be a very mild statement of the offence. The Roman ambassadors at Corinth, according to Polybius, attempted to address the meeting of the Achaean League, but were insulted and driven from the assembly. The war which followed resulted in the destruction of Corinth and the complete conquest of Greece by the Romans in the year 146 B. C.

17. Corinthum. The celebrated city of Corinth, in Greece. Corinthum is the subject of *exstinctum esse*, though the participle agrees with the appositive *lumen*, and not with the subject Corinthum. G. 462.

18. Eum regem; i. e., Mithridates.

19. Legatum consularem. This was Manius Aquilius, consul 101 B. C., sent into Asia 90 B. C., to restore the Kings Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, who had been dethroned by Mithridates.

20. Excruciatum necavit; G. 579.

21. Libertatem imminutam, *an encroachment upon the liberty*, lit., *the liberty diminished.* G. 580.

22. Vitam ereptam, *the taking of life.*—**Jus violatum**, *the infringement of the right.*

23. Persecuti sunt, *avenged.*—**Legatum interfectum**, *the murder of an ambassador.* G. 580.

24. Ut illis pulcherrimum fuit, *as it was most honorable for them.*

28. Quod salus...vocatur. This clause is the object of *ferre.*—**In periculum vocatur**, *is exposed to danger.*

30. Ariobarzanes. See note on *regnum Ariobarzanis*, p. 61, line 22.—**Socius...atque amicus.** An honorary title conferred by a decree of the senate.

31. Duo reges. See p. 61, lines 12 to 16.—**Toti Asiae**; G. 385.

33. Cuncta Asia, *in all Asia.* G. 422, 1.

35. Imperatorem certum; i. e., any one in particular.—**Deposcere**; construe with *audent.*

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63 **36. Alium**; i. e., Manius Acilius Glabrio. See Introduction, p. 233.

64 **2. Unum virum**; i. e., Pompey.—**In quo sint**; G. 501, II.

3. Propter, *near*, i. e., in their vicinity. Pompey had just achieved the most signal success in the war against the pirates, and was still in Asia at the head of a large and victorious army.—**Quo**, *for which reason;* Abl. of Cause.—**Carent aegrius**, *they feel the need of him more keenly.*

4. Maritimum bellum; i. e., the war against the pirates who infested the Mediterranean Sea. See Introduction, p. 232.

7. Ut existimetis; G. 492, 2.

8. Dignos quorum salutem...commendetis, *worthy of having their safety intrusted to such a man*, lit., *worthy whose safety you would intrust*, etc., i. e., so worthy that you would, etc. G. 501, III.

9. Hoc, *on this account;* explained by *quod ceteros...differant.*—**Ceteros ejus modi homines mittimus**, *the other men whom we send are of such a character*, lit., *we send the other men of such a character.* In Chapters XXII. and XXIII., Cicero contrasts the character of Pompey with that of the other Roman commanders.

11. Adventus. Plural, because of its connection with the plural *ipsorum.*

13. Antea. The fame of his previous military achievements in Italy, Africa, Gaul, and Spain, had already reached them.

VI., VII. *The Revenues of the State and the Fortunes of Roman Citizens are in Danger.*

17. Propter socios. In behalf of their allies in Greece, the Romans waged war against the Aetolians and Antiochus, King of Syria, from 192 to 189 B. C. The Roman arms were crowned with signal success. The war with Philip V., King of Macedonia, was undertaken 200 B. C. in behalf of the Athenians, and ended in the humiliation of Philip 196 B. C. The first Punic War, from 264 to 241 B. C., was undertaken in the interest of the town of Messana, in Sicily; the second, from 218 to 202 B. C., grew out of the capture of Saguntum, in Spain; and the third, from 150 to 146 B. C., was undertaken in support of the Numidian king Massinissa. It resulted in the destruction of Carthage.

21. Quum de...agatur, *since your most important revenues are at stake*, lit., *since it is staked in regard to*, etc. *Agatur* is impersonal. How would this clause read if expressed personally? See p. 62, lines 1 and 2.

23. Tanta sunt, *are so inconsiderable*, lit., *so great*, i. e., only so great.—**Iis**; G. 419, IV.

25. Ubertate agrorum, magnitudine pastionis, multitudine, etc. Cicero here specifies the three chief sources of revenue—

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the tithes (*decumae*) for the use of the public lands under cultivation, the 64
rents (*scriptura*) for the use of the public pastures, and the duties (*portorium*) on imports and exports.

27. Facile, *unquestionably.*—**Omnibus terris**, *all other lands*, lit., *all lands.* G. 385.

28. Belli utilitatem, *what is useful in war.*

1. Scriptura. So called from the record (*writing*) kept of all cattle 65
pastured upon the public lands. See note on *ubertate agrorum*, etc., p. 64, line 25.

3. Quo tandem animo. See p. 63, line 16.—**Qui nobis...pensitant**, *who pay us tribute*, and accordingly have a right to expect protection from us.

4. Qui exercent atque exigunt; i. e., the Roman knights and those who have taken contracts under them, or are in their employ. See p. 61, lines 16 to 20.

7. Familias maximas, *the very numerous households of servants;* object of *habere.*—**In saltibus**, *in the pasture-grounds.*

8. Custodiis, *custom-houses.*

10. Illis rebus; i. e., the revenues. G. 419, I.—**Qui vobis fructui sunt**, *who secure the enjoyment for you;* i. e., both those who pay the revenue and those who farm it. G. 390.

13. Illud quod, *that which;* explained by *quod ad multorum...pertinet.*

14. Extremum, *as the last topic.* See p. 62, line 4; *aguntur bona*, etc. Observe, also, the four topics embraced under the general division of the *Character of the War* (genus belli), as presented in the latter part of Chapter II.: 1. *Agitur gloria;* 2. *Agitur salus;* 3. *Aguntur vectigalia;* 4. *Aguntur bona.* Cicero, having completed the discussion of the first three points, now takes up the last.—**Quum essem dicturus**; G. 481, III. 1.

15. Quod pertinet, *that it* (the war) *pertains.* *Quod* seems to be the conjunction, rather than the relative.

16. Quorum habenda est ratio, *whose interests ought to be regarded.*

17. Et publicani. The *et* finds its correlative in *deinde* in the next paragraph. Omit it in translating.

18. Rationes, *business, plans for business.*

19. Per se, *of themselves.*

22. Recte; construe with *dicemus.*

24. Ex ceteris ordinibus, *of the other classes*, i. e., of all classes except the *publicani* just mentioned. See line 17 above. Here *ordinibus* seems not to be used in its technical sense to denote the three orders in

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65 the state—the *senate*, the *knights*, and the *people*—but in a more general sense to denote the various classes and professions.

25. Partim, partim, *some, others.*—**Ipsi**, *themselves*, i. e., in person, in distinction from those who remained in Rome and only sent their money into the province.

27. Collocatas, *invested.*—**Humanitatis.** G. 402, I.

28. Magnum...civium, *this large number of citizens.*

29. A re publica, *from that of the republic.* G. 397, 1, 1).

30. Primum, *in the first place*, correlative of *deinde* below.—**Illud parvi refert**; G. 408, 2 and 3. *Illud* is explained by *nos...recuperare.*

31. Publicanis amissis, *when the farmers of the revenue are ruined. Publicanis amissis* is at best doubtful Latin. The text is probably corrupt.

32. Redimendi facultas, *the means of contracting for them.*

34. Quod. The antecedent is *id* in the next line.

35. Initio belli Asiatici, *in the beginning of the Asiatic War*, i. e., of the Mithridatic War, 88 B. C. G. 426, 1.

36. Memoria, *in memory;* Abl. of Means.

66 **1. Romae**; G. 421, II.—**Solutione impedita**, etc., *credit fell in consequence of a suspension of payment.* Capitalists in Rome were so involved in the heavy losses sustained in Asia that they could not meet their payments.

3. Ut non trahant, *without drawing*, lit., *so as not to draw.* G. 494. Instead of *ut non*, *quin* might have been used. G. 498, 3.

5. Id quod ipsi videtis, *as you yourselves see*, lit., *that which. Id* represents the statement which follows: *haec fides atque...et cohaeret.*

6. Haec ratio pecuniarum, *this system of banking.*

8. Illa, *the latter*, lit., *those things*, referring to *pecuniis Asiaticis.* G. 450, 1. On gender, see G. 445, 5.

10. Gloria, salus, vectigalia, fortunae. Recapitulation of the four topics which comprise the first general division, viz., that on the *Character of the War.* See note on *extremum*, p. 65, line 14.

12. Conjunctae cum re publica, *joined with the public weal.*

VIII., IX. *The Extent and Importance of the War.*

14. Hoc, *this;* explained by *belli genus esse ita...pertimescendum.*

17. Vobis contemnenda, *unworthy of your attention*, lit., *deserving to be despised by you.*

19. Viro, homini. See Syn. L. C. 239, II.

20. Debeatur; Subj. by Attraction.—**Adventu**; G. 426, 1. This was in the year 74 B. C.

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21. Ornatas fuisse...obsessam esse. Direct Discourse would be *ornatae erant...obsidebatur.* 66

23. Cyzicenorum. See note on *urbem Cyzicenorum*, p. 55, line 28.

24. Quam L. Lucullus liberavit, *but L. Lucullus delivered it.* G. 531, 4.

26. Classem magnam...depressam. This naval victory is evidently the same as that mentioned on p. 55, lines 30 to 33.

27. Ducibus Sertorianis, *under commanders sent by Sertorius;* Abl. Absol. It will be remembered that Sertorius, then commanding in Spain in the interest of the Marian faction, was in correspondence with Mithridates. See p. 62, lines 30 to 36; also note on *ad eos duces*, p. 62, line 32.—**Studio,** *by party-strife.*

30. Legionibus; Dative.

31. Ex omni aditu, *at every avenue of approach.*—**Sinopen atque Amisum**; cities on the Euxine.

34. Permultas; construe with *ceteras urbes.*—**Uno aditu,** *by his mere approach*, lit., *by his approach only*, i. e., without any actual attack.

35. Alios reges...gentes. He went first to Tigranes, king of the Armenians, and afterwards to Arsaces, king of the Parthians.

1. Integris vectigalibus, *the revenues unimpaired;* Abl. Absolute. 67

2. Laudis; Partitive Genitive with *satis.*—**Atque ita,** *and so bestowed*, i. e., so liberally, lit., *and in such a manner.* Perhaps *dicta* or some similar participle is to be supplied.

3. Hoc, *this*, i. e., *a nullo...esse laudatum.*—**Nullo**; G. 457, 2.—**Istorum.** This refers especially to Catulus and Hortensius. See Introduction, p. 233.

7. Reliquum bellum, *what remains of the war*, or *the remaining part of the war.* G. 441, 6.

10. Medea. Medea, daughter of Aeëtes, King of Colchis, eloped with Jason, the leader of the Argonautic expedition. Being pursued by her father, she resorted to the expedient described in the text. Colchis, though not strictly a part of Pontus, is here included under that general name; hence *ex eodem Ponto.*

11. Fratris. The name of her brother was Apsyrtus or Absyrtus.

12. Eorum collectio dispersa, *the collection of them thus scattered.* G. 438, 8.

14. Maximam vim omnem, *the whole of the very great quantity;* object of *reliquit.*

16. Bello superiore. See p. 62, line 8.

19. Illum, *the former;* i. e., Aeëtes, the father of Medea.—**Hos,** *the latter;* i. e., Roman soldiers.

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67 **20. Hunc**; i. e., Mithridates.—**Tigranes**. The son-in-law of Mithridates.

21. Rebus suis; G. 385.

23. Plures gentes. Among these were the Medes, the Albanians, the Arabians, and the Iberians.

26. Neque lacessendas...tentandas, *should be either provoked by attack* (war) *or disturbed.* G. 585, 2.

27. Gravis atque vehemens, *painful and exciting.*

28. Gentium barbararum; i. e., in Asia.—**Fani**. Mommsen, the historian, thinks that Cicero refers to the rich and magnificent temple of the Persian goddess Nanaea, in Elymais.

30. Multae atque magnae; G. 440, 1.—**Novo quodam terrore.** Fears are now excited upon a religious subject.

32. Urbem, *a city;* i. e., Tigranocerta, the Armenian capital.

34. Desiderio suorum, *by the desire to see their friends.* See note on *desiderio sui*, p. 15, line 21.

35. Fuit enim illud extremum, *for the result* (last thing) *was. Illud* merely represents the clause, *ut ex iis locis...quaereretur.*

68 **2. Eorum**, *consisting of those;* Gen. of Specification after *manum.*

4. Fere, *almost invariably.*

5. Ut alliciant; G. 495, 3.

7. Ut...videatur; the Result of *qui aut reges sunt...regno.*—**Ut**, *so that.*—**Nomen regale**, *the name of king.*

9. Incolumis; i. e., before his defeat.

10. Eo, quod, *with that which;* explained by *ut illam...attingeret.*

11. Acciderat; Lat. Comp. 624.

12. In exercitum...fecit. In the year 68 B. C., while Lucullus was occupied in Mesopotamia, Mithridates, who had returned to Pontus, defeated the Roman forces under M. Fabius, and in the following year under C. Triarius.

14. Hoc loco; G. 422, 1, 1).—**Poetae, qui...scribunt.** Cn. Naevius, who wrote on the first Punic War, and Q. Ennius, who wrote the Roman Annals, are doubtless meant.

15. Calamitatem; i. e., the defeat of Triarius.

16. Imperatoris; i. e., of Lucullus.

17. Ex sermone rumor, *the common talk*, lit., *rumor from conversation.*—**Hic**, *here.*—**In malo**; G. 426, 2, 1).

18. Offensione, *disaster.*

19. Incommodis; G. 385, 2.—**Potuisset**; Potential Subjunctive.

20. Modum statuendum, *that a limit should be set.*

21. Vetere exemplo; G. 414, 2. The true reason for the recall of Lucullus, the disaffection in his army and the intrigues of his ene-

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mies, is purposely omitted.—**Stipendiis confectis erant**, *had com-* 68
pleted their term of service; lit., *were with completed services.* G. 428, 1, 2).

22. Glabrioni. See Introduction, p. 233.

23. Ea, *them*, referring to *multa*, but explained by *quantum illud... putetis.*—**Conjectura**, *by inference;* i. e., from what he has said, they must infer the rest.

24. Factum, *has become.* Supply *esse.*—**Putetis**—*putare debeatis.* —**Quod conjungant...renovent...suscipiant...accipiat.** Recapitulation of the points, showing the greatness and importance of the war.—**Conjungant**, *wage conjointly.*

25. Integrae gentes, *fresh races;* i. e., those not previously engaged.

26. Novus imperator; i. e., Glabrio.

27. Quare, *why;* i. e., to show why.

28. Esset, *is;* G. 482, 1.

30. Rebus; Indirect Object of *praeficiendo.*—**Dicendum esse videatur**—dicendum sit; a somewhat favorite pleonasm with Cicero. G. 704, II.

X. *The Appointment of a Commander. Qualifications of Pompey. His Knowledge of Military Affairs.*

31. Utinam haberetis; G. 487; 488, 1 and 2.

36. Antiquitatis memoriam, *the records of antiquity;* i. e., the glory of the ancients.

2. Sic; G. 704, II. 6.—**In summo imperatore**, *in a consummate* 69
commander.

4. Quis igitur, *who then?* This question introduces the discussion of the first of the four topics just mentioned, *scientiam rei militaris.*

5. Hoc homine; i. e., Pompey. G. 417.—**Scientior**; i. e., *rei militaris.*

6. Acerrimis hostibus; Ablative Absolute.

7. Ad patris exercitum. Pompey commenced his military career under his father, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, in the Social War, 89 B. C. He was then seventeen years of age.

8. Extrema pueritia; G. 441, 6.

9. Summi imperatoris; i. e., of his father.

10. Ipse imperator. At the age of twenty-three, Pompey raised three legions of volunteers in Picenum, and, at the head of this force, proffered his services to Sulla, who saluted him with the title of *Imperator.*—**Hoste, inimico.** See Syn. L. C. 344.

12. Confecit, *has subdued.*

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69 **13. Ad scientiam est erudita,** *has been trained to the knowledge.*

14. Suis imperiis, *by his experience in command.*

15. Triumphis. Pompey had already twice enjoyed the honor of a triumph—in the year 81 B. C., at the age of twenty-five, for his victories in Africa, and, ten years later, for his victories in Spain.

17. Civile. The Civil War in Italy, waged by Sulla against the Marian faction.—**Africanum.** The African War in which Pompey conquered, in the year 81 B. C., a remnant of the Marian faction which had fled for protection to Hiarbas, King of Numidia.—**Transalpinum.** The war waged by Pompey against the Transalpine Gauls on his march into Spain, 76 B. C.

18. Hispaniense. The war in Spain against Sertorius. See notes on *ad eos duces*, p. 62, line 32, and on *Pompeii*, p. 63, line 3.—**Mixtum ex...nationibus,** *made-up of states*, etc., i. e., one in which states, etc., were involved. These words are explanatory of *Hispaniense bellum*, but the text is doubtful.

19. Servile. The war against Spartacus, aided by gladiators and slaves, 71 B. C.—**Navale.** The war against the pirates, 67 B. C., also called *maritimum bellum*, p. 64, line 4. See note on the same.

21. In usu...militari, *in the range of military experience;* lit., *placed in.*

XI., XII. *Pompey's Second Qualification — Valor, as shown in the Various Wars in which he has commanded.*

24. Virtuti, *valor.* G. 391, 1. *Virtus*, in the discussion of this topic, with the leading idea of *valor*, is used in a very comprehensive sense, embracing the natural endowments which are essential in a great commander, *the military gift, ability in war.*

26. Cuiquam inauditum; G. 391.—**Neque enim...solae virtutes,** *for those are not the only qualifications.* The others are mentioned in Chap. XIII.

27. Quae...existimantur, *which are usually so regarded.*

30. Quae tanta sunt quanta non fuerunt, *and these qualities are greater*, lit., *as great as they have not been.*

33. Italia; i. e., in the Civil War. See note on *civile*, line 17 above.

35. Sicilia. In the year 82 B. C., Pompey was sent by Sulla into Sicily to subdue the remnant of the Marian faction which had taken refuge in that island.

36. Africa. See note on *Africanum*, line 17 above.

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1. Eorum ipsorum sanguine, *with the blood of those very enemies.* 70 Out of a force of 20,000, according to Plutarch, only 3,000 survived the battle.

2. Gallia. See note on *Transalpinum*, p. 69, line 17.

4. Hispania. See note on *Hispaniense*, p. 69, line 18.

5. Iterum et saepius, *again and again.*

6. Quum premeretur; G. 518, II.—**Taetro**, *disgraceful*, because waged against gladiators and slaves.

7. Absente; i. e., in Spain.

9. Adventu...sepultum. This is extravagant and undeserved praise. Pompey, arriving from Spain just after Spartacus and his whole army had been defeated by Marcus Crassus, gained an easy victory over 5,000 fugitives who had escaped from the battle-field.

11. Maria omnia; i. e., the different seas composing the Mediterranean, or connected with it, as the Adriatic, the Aegean, etc. Cicero here refers to the war against the pirates.—**Quum universa, tum**, *not only all the seas, but also.*

12. Quis; G. 454, 1.—**Toto mari**; G. 422, 1, 1).

16. Hieme, *in winter*, when there was less danger from pirates, but more from storm and shipwreck.—**Referto mari**; Abl. Absol.—**Praedonum**; G. 399, 2, 2).

17. Tam vetus. The war against the pirates extended through a period of upwards of twenty years.—**Tam late divisum**, *so widely extended.*

18. Arbitraretur; G. 486, 4.

22. Cui praesidio fuistis, *whom have you protected?* G. 390.

24. Quam multas captas urbes. The number is said to have reached four hundred. The pirates had at one time one thousand vessels under their command.

26. Fuit; G. 471, 1.

27. Populi; G. 399, 3, 3).

28. Propugnaculis imperii, *with the bulwarks of their power*, i. e., with their army and navy.—**Sua**, *their own*, referring to *populi Romani.*

31. Brundisio. A town on the eastern coast of Italy, the usual port of embarkation for the East.—**Hieme summa**, *in midwinter.*

32. Captos. Supply *esse.* The subject is *eos*, the omitted antecedent of *qui.*—**Legati...redempti sint.** It is not known to what Cicero here refers.

34. Duodecim secures, *two praetors*, lit., *twelve axes*; the symbols of office, by metonymy for the officers. G. 705, II. In the provinces, each praetor was attended by six lictors with the *fasces.* Plutarch mentions these praetors under the names of *Sextilius* and *Bellinus.*

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70 **35. Cnidum.** A city in Caria.—**Colophonem.** A city in Lydia.—**Samum.** A city on the island of Samus, on the coast of Asia Minor.

36. Innumerabiles. See note on *quam multas*, etc., line 24.

71 **2. Vitam...ducitis**, *you derive life and breath;* i. e., the grain with which to support life.

3. Cajetae. A town and harbor on the coast of Latium, now *Gaeta.*—**Celeberrimum**, *very much frequented.*

4. Inspectante praetore. It is not known who this praetor was.

5. Miseno. A town and harbor on the coast of Campania.—**Ejus ipsius liberos qui**, *the child of that very one who.* Plutarch says that a daughter of Antonius was carried off by the pirates. This is undoubtedly the case to which Cicero refers, as *liberos* may mean either *child* or *children.* It is, however, uncertain whether this Antonius was M. Antonius, the orator, or his son M. Antonius, the father of the triumvir.

7. Ostiense, *of* or *at Ostia*, the port of Rome at the mouth of the Tiber. G. 441, 5. The pirates are said even to have burnt the ships in the harbor of Ostia.

9. Cui consul praepositus esset. Relative clause denoting Result; a fleet so important as to be commanded by a consul. G. 501, I. Who the consul was is not known.

14. Oceani ostium, *the Straits of Gibraltar*, called *Oceani ostium*, the mouth of the ocean, to harmonize with *ostium Tiberinum.*

18. Tam brevi tempore. About ninety days. See note on *undequinquagesimo die*, line 29 below; also Introduction, p. 232.

19. Quam celeriter, *as speedily as.*

20. Tanti belli impetus, *the so vast military expedition*, lit., *the onset* (impetuous movement) *of so great a war;* a figure at once bold and poetic, but difficult to reproduce in English.—**Nondum tempestivo... mari**; i. e., very early in the Spring. G. 431.

22. Sardiniam. The large island of Sardinia, west of Italy, was one of the principal granaries of Rome.

23. Frumentaria subsidia, *granaries.*

25. Duabus Hispaniis; i. e., *Hispania citerior* and *Hispania ulterior*, separated by the river Iberus, now the *Ebro.* With *Hispaniis* supply *confirmatis.*

26. Illyrici maris; i. e., the part of the Adriatic bordering upon Illyria.—**Achaiam.** Achaia here denotes the Peloponnesus.

27. Italiae duo maria; i. e., the Adriatic on the east, and the Tuscan on the west.

28. Adornavit, *supplied.*

29. Ut, *after.*—**Brundisio**; G. 421.—**Undequinquagesimo die.** According to Plutarch, the earlier operations of the war, prior to the em-

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barkation from Brundisium, occupied forty days, making in all about 71
ninety days.

30. Ciliciam. Cilicia, upon the northeastern coast of the Mediterranean, was the stronghold of the pirates.

31. Partim, partim, *either, or.*

33. Cretensibus; Indirect object of *ademit* and *imperavit.* G. 385, 4. The Cretans, after the subjugation of the island was substantially effected by Quintus Metellus, proposed to surrender to Pompey, then in Pamphylia, in the hope of thus obtaining easier terms. He accepted the offer, and sent envoys to Metellus to inform him of the fact. But Metellus, who had been charged with the prosecution of this war, disregarding the command of Pompey, compelled the whole island to surrender to himself.—**Pamphyliam.** In Asia Minor, on the north of the Mediterranean.

35. Obsidesque. Here our idiom requires that *que* after the negative (*non*) should be rendered *but.*

XIII., XIV. *Pompey not only possesses Valor, but many Kindred Qualities of Great Value in a Commander.*

3. Est haec, *this is ;* i. e., *such is,* referring to the description just 72
given.—**Imperatoris,** *as a commander ;* in apposition with *ejus,* understood, lit., *of him* (*as*) *commander.*

4. Quas paulo ante. See note on *neque enim...solae virtutes,* p. 69, line 26.

5. Non enim bellandi...quaerenda est. This is only a repetition of *neque enim illae...providendo,* p. 69, line 26, here completed by *sed multae...virtutis.*

7. Artes eximiae, *excellent qualities.*—**Hujus**; construe with *virtutis.*

8. Innocentia, *blamelessness, uprightness ;* especially in this instance *freedom from avarice.* G. 428. For the exact sense in which this and the accompanying ablatives are here used, see the discussion which follows. The treatment of *innocentia* occupies the remainder of this chapter. *Temperantia,* self-control, is treated in the first paragraph of the next chapter; *facilitas,* affability, *ingenium,* native talent, ability, *fides,* good faith, trustworthiness, and *humanitas,* kindness, humanity, in the last paragraph of that chapter.

11. Quae, *these.* G. 445, 3, 1); 453.

12. Summa, *of the highest order,* i. e., in Pompey.

13. Magis, *better.*—**Aliorum contentione,** *by a comparison with others ;* i. e., by comparing them with the qualities found in other men.—

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72 **Ipsa**; construe with *ea, they can themselves.*—**Cognosci atque intelligi. Cognosco** means *to perceive, learn*, by the senses or from external sources; **intelligo**, *to understand, comprehend*, by the mind.

15. Ullo in numero putare, *to regard in any sense as a commander*, lit., *in any number or enumeration*, i. e., of commanders.

16. Centuriatus veneant. The allusion may be to Glabrio, now in command against Mithridates, or it may be more general, as Cicero afterwards uses the plural, *qui haec fecerint*, line 22 below.

18. Cogitare. Supply *possumus putare* from the preceding sentence.

19. Cupiditatem provinciae, *a desire to retain his province*, lit., *a desire of his province.* Money was sometimes given to influential magistrates to secure their coöperation in preventing the recall of generals.

20. In quaestu, *at interest.*

21. Facit ut...videamini, *shows that you recognize*, lit., *makes that you appear*, etc., i. e., causes you to appear, etc.

23. Nisi qui voluerit, *unless he shall choose*, lit., *if not he who shall choose.* Supply *is* as the antecedent of *qui.*

25. Quocumque ventum est, *wherever they have gone.* G. 301, 1.

26. Ferant, *carry with them, cause.*—**Itinera, quae...Italia**; i. e., the various Italian wars.

29. Existimetis. See note on *putetis*, p. 68, line 24.

30. Plures; construe with *urbes*, and repeat with *civitates.*

31. Hibernis, *by their winter quarters*, i. e., by the soldiers in winter quarters.

33. Ipse; G. 452, 1.

35. Hic, *in this state of things*, lit., *here.*—**Ceteris**; G. 386, 2.

36. Cujus...pervenerint; G. 519; 519, 1.—**In Asiam**; i. e., when led thither by Pompey in the war against the pirates.—**Non modo manus**, *not only no hand.* G. 584, 2.

73 **3. Hibernent**, *are passing the winter*; i. e., under Pompey, on the borders of Cilicia.

4. Ut sumptum...militem, *to expend money on the soldiery.*

5. Hiemis; construe with *perfugium, a refuge from the winter.* G. 393, 1.

6. Avaritiae perfugium, *a resort for avarice*; i. e., for the gratification of avarice.

10. Cursum, *progress.*—**Inventum**, *was achieved.* Supply *esse.*

15. Non amoenitas ad delectationem, *no delightful scenery to the enjoyment of it.* Here *non*, lit., *not*, belonging to the verb, may be rendered *no.*

16. Non nobilitas urbis, *no renowned city*, lit., *not the renown of a city.* Even in Athens he remained only a few hours.

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17. Signa, *statues.*—**Tabulas**, *paintings.* 73

19. Tollenda esse. Rome was already rich in works of art which her commanders had taken from Grecian cities.—**Ea**, *these;* in apposition with *signa*, etc.

23. Hac quondam continentia, *of this self-control once common*, or *which once existed.* Observe the position of *quondam*, implying that this *self-control* is a characteristic of the *past* rather than of the *present.* **Quod.** The antecedent is the clause *fuisse homines . . . continentia.*—**Jam videbatur**, *was already beginning to appear.*

29. Liberae, *freely allowed.*

30. Querimoniae. *Querimonia* is properly a *complaint which seeks redress*, and is, therefore, more than *querela*, which may be only the expression of a momentary feeling.—**Aliorum injuriis**, *injuries from others.*

33. Imperatoria, *appropriate for a commander.*

34. Hoc ipso ex loco; i. e., the Rostra from which he had often addressed the people.

36. Sanctissimam, *most inviolable.*

1. Dictu; G. 570. 74

3. Quin transmittendum sit; G. 498, 3.

5. Quodam; G. 456, 1.

XV., XVI. *Pompey's other Qualifications. He is a Man not only of Great Personal Influence and Authority, but also of Rare Good Fortune and Success.*

6. Quoniam valet. A reason for introducing the topic, but not a reason for *certe nemini dubium est.*—**Auctoritas.** This word seems to be here used in a very comprehensive sense, including not only *influence* and *authority*, but also *reputation.*

9. Pertinere. This infinitive, with its subject, *quid hostes . . . existiment*, depends upon *ignorat.*

11. Homines. Subject of *commoveri*, which, in rendering, should be brought in directly before *ut aut contemnant . . . ament*, as that clause expresses the result of *commoveri.*

16. Id quod, *that which.*—*Id* is in apposition with *vos tanta . . . fecistis.* G. 445, 7.—**Tanta . . . judicia.** This refers to the extraordinary honors which had been conferred upon Pompey, and the important commands with which he had been intrusted. See Introduction, p. 232.

18. Quo—*ut eo.* Hence the Subj. of Result, *pervaserit.* G. 500, 1. —**Illius diei**; i. e., the day when Pompey was appointed commander in the war against the pirates.

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74 **22. Ut plura non dicam**; G. 493, 1.

25. Sumantur, *may be taken;* Potential Subj.—**Qui quo die**, *on the day upon which.* G. 453, 3.

27. Ex summa inopia, *immediately after the greatest scarcity. Ex*, lit., *out of*, denoting a *sudden change.* The depredations of the pirates had so embarrassed commerce that grain in Rome had become very scarce and dear.

28. Unius hominis spe, *through the hope reposed in one man*, i. e., in Pompey. The price of grain fell because the grain-markets of the world would be open to Roman commerce as soon as the pirates should be subdued.

30. Jam, *moreover.*—**Calamitate...paulo ante admonui.** See note on *in exercitum...fecit*, p. 68, line 12.

32. Crevissent, haberet; construe with *quum.* G. 518, II.

33. Amisissetis, nisi attulisset; G. 510.

34. Ipsum discrimen...temporis, *at the very crisis of that period.*—**Ad eas regiones**; i. e., into Pamphylia and Cilicia in quest of the pirates.

75 **2. Perfecturus sit**; G. 481, III. 1.

6. Illa res, *the following fact*, explained by *quod...dediderunt* and *quod...dixerunt.* G. 450, 3.

7. Auctoritatem. Subject of *esse* to be supplied.

8. Tempore; G. 426, 2, 2), (3).

9. Cretensium. See note on *Cretensibus*, p. 71, line 33.

10. Noster imperator. Quintus Metellus.

11. In ultimas terras; i. e., Pamphylia. See note on *Pamphyliam*, p. 71, line 33. *Ultimas* seems to have been here used for effect. It may indeed be true of Pamphylia in respect to Rome, but not in respect to Crete.

14. Eum quem, *one whom.*

15. Ii quibus erat molestum. The reference is to the party of Q. Metellus Pius, the other commander in the war against Sertorius, to whom it would be, of course, somewhat annoying that an ambassador should be sent to Pompey rather than to Metellus. The real facts in the case, however, are not known. According to the common account, Mithridates negotiated neither with Pompey nor with Metellus, but with Sertorius.

18. Auctoritatem. Subject of *valituram esse.*

21. Existimetis. See note on *putetis*, p. 68, line 24.

22. Reliquum est ut dicamus; G. 556, I. 2.—**De felicitate.** The last of the four qualifications of a general. See p. 69, lines 3 and 4.—**Quam praestare nemo potest**, *which no one can guarantee;* because it is purely a gift from the gods.

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23. Possumus, *but which we may.* Supply the omitted conjunction. 75
G. 587, III. 4.

24. Sicut, *as*, referring to *timide et pauca.*—**Homines.** Subject of *dicere* to be supplied.—**De potestate deorum**, *concerning the power of the gods;* i. e., concerning a matter which is entirely in the power of the gods.—**Timide**, *cautiously.*

25. Maximo, Marcello. See note on *Maximi, Marcelli*, p. 56, line 5.

26. Scipioni. Probably Scipio Africanus Minor. See note on *alter Africanus*, p. 46, line 13.—**Mario.** See note on *Marius qui bis*, etc., p. 46, line 17.

27. Saepius, *repeatedly.*

28. Mandata. *Esse* with *commissos* belongs also with *mandata.*—**Fuit quibusdam summis viris**, *some very eminent men have had. Viris*, Dative of Possessor.

31. Adjuncta, *granted to them;* a participle.

32. Hac, *such.*

34. Reliqua, *the future*, lit., *the rest.*

35. Invisa, *offensive.*

2. Terra marique; G. 422, 1, 1).—**Ut...assenserint**; Indirect 76
Question.—**Ut**, *how.*

3. Voluntatibus; Indirect Object of each of the four following verbs.

7. Tacitus; G. 443.—**Quot et quantas**, *as.*

8. Quod ut sit, *that this may be;* Purpose of *velle et optare. Quod* refers to the success mentioned in the preceding sentence.

12. Quare quum, etc. Cicero here gives a summary of the several points already discussed. In the next chapter he enters upon the consideration of objections.

16. Quin conferatis, *to employ.*

XVII.—XIX. *Reply to the Objection of Hortensius.*

20. Si esset, erat deligendus; G. 510, 2.

23. Opportunitas, *fortunate circumstance.*

24. Ab iis qui habent; i. e., from Lucullus and Glabrio.

26. Cetera; i. e., *cetera bella.*—**Summa**; construe with *salute.*

27. Bellum regium, *war with kings;* i. e., with Mithridates and Tigranes, lit., *royal war.*

30. Affectus, *honored.*—**Q. Catulus.** Quintus Lutatius Catulus, a distinguished member and leader of the Roman aristocracy, consul 78 B. C. Hence *vestris beneficiis amplissimis affectus.*

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76 **32. Q. Hortensius.** Quintus Hortensius, a distinguished orator and advocate, a man of great wealth and influence, consul 69 B. C.—**Ratione**, *plan*, or *view*.

33. Multis locis, *on many points*. G. 422, 1, 1).

34. Tametsi cognoscetis...contrarias, *although you will see authorities on the other side*, i. e., opposed to Catulus and Hortensius. Those authorities are given on p. 82, lines 20 to 31.

36. Ipsa re ac ratione, *from the nature of the case;* lit., *from the thing itself and its nature* or *condition*. G. 704, II. 2.

77 **1. Hoc**, *on this account;* Ablative of Cause.

7. Obsolevit ista oratio, *such language has lost its force;* because he had used it before in opposing the appointment of Pompey to the command against the pirates, and the result had shown the wisdom of the appointment.

8. Tu idem; G. 451, 3.—**Q. Hortensi**; G. 52, 2.

10. A. Gabinium. The author of the Gabinian law, by which Pompey was placed in command against the pirates. The law did not, indeed, name Pompey, but it was plain to all from the very outset that no other commander could be appointed under it.

14. Tum si valuisset, hodie teneremus; G. 510, 1.

16. Vera causa, *the true interests*.

18. Quum capiebantur; G. 469, II.—**Legati...praetoresque**. See Chap. XII., p. 70, especially lines 31 to 36.

20. Commeatu, *from supplies*. G. 425, 2.

21. Rem transmarinam, *business beyond the sea*.

23. Non dico Atheniensium, *I do not speak of that of the Athenians*. Supply *civitatem*. Athens was one of the most celebrated of the Grecian cities. For upwards of half a century its naval power was very great.

25. Karthaginiensium. The Carthaginians in Northern Africa, with whom the Romans waged the Punic Wars, once controlled the Mediterranean.—**Maritimis rebus**, *naval resources*.

26. Rhodiorum. The Rhodians, inhabiting the island of Rhodes, in the Aegean Sea, were distinguished for their maritime power.

27. Quae civitas unquam. These words resume the question interrupted by the parenthetical clause, *non dico...remansit*.

29. Regionis...maritimae, *of the maritime territory and coast*.

31. Ille, *the renowned*.

34. Utilitatis, *of their interests*.

35. Nos, quorum majores, ii, *we, the people* (lit., *those*), *whose ancestors*. *Ii*, in apposition with *nos*, becomes in effect the antecedent of *quorum*.—**Antiochum**. See note on *propter socios*, p. 64, line 17.—

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Persemque. Perses, the last King of Macedonia, was conquered by 77
L. Aemilius Paullus, 168 B. C. He, however, escaped with a small force to the island of Samothrace, where he was blockaded by the Roman admiral Cn. Octavius, to whom he was compelled to surrender. See note on *Paullus ille*, p. 46, line 15.

36. Omnibus navalibus pugnis; i. e., in the first Punic War. See note on *propter socios*, p. 64, line 17.

3. Tutam, salvos. See Syn. L. C. 321. 78

5. Praestare, *to keep* or *preserve.*—**Tum, quum,** *at the time when*, introducing an illustration of *socios...praestare poteramus* = *as we were at the time* (tum) *when* (quum).

6. Delos. After the fall of Corinth, 146 B. C., Delos became an important centre of trade.—**Aegaeo mari,** *the Aegean Sea*; i. e., the part of the Mediterranean between Greece and Asia Minor.

7. Oneribus, *freights.*

8. Nihil timebat. Because it was under the protection of Rome.

10. Appia via. The Appian Way, the most celebrated of the Roman roads, extended from Rome to the port of Brundisium. The portion near the sea was often visited by the corsairs.

12. Quum reliquissent; G. 515, I.

13. Exuviis nauticis, etc., *with naval trophies*, etc. Hence the name *Rostra*, beaks. See note on *hic locus*, p. 60, line 2.

14. Bono animo, *with a good intention.*

17. Dolori suo, *their own feelings*, occasioned by the depredations of the pirates.

18. Una lex. The Gabinian law. See p. 77, lines 10 to 12.

20. Effecit ut aliquando videremur, *caused us to appear* (lit., *that we should appear*) *at length.* G. 492, 1.

21. Quo, *wherefore.*

22. Obtrectatum ... adhuc, *that opposition has thus far been made.* G. 301, 1.—**Gabinio, Pompeio**; Indirect Object of *obtrectatum esse.*—**Gabinio...anne,** *shall I say to Gabinius or.*

23. Id. Nominative in apposition with *obtrectatum esse adhuc utrique.*—**Ne legaretur...Pompeio,** *that A. Gabinius might not be appointed lieutenant to Cn. Pompey.* According to Roman law, no one could receive an appointment under a statute proposed by himself. Hence Gabinius could not be a lieutenant under the Gabinian law, but Pompey now asks that he may be so appointed under the Manilian law, which Cicero is now advocating.

25. Legatum quem velit, *such a lieutenant as he wishes.* G. 501, I.

26. Qui impetret, *to obtain his request.* G. 501, III.—**Quum ceteri,** *since our other generals.*

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78 **29. Expers gloriae.** G. 399, 2, 2), (3).

31. Periculo, *at his peril.* If the law had worked badly, Gabinius would have been held responsible for the result.—**An**; G. 346, II. 2, 4). —**Falcidius, Metellus,** etc. These are mentioned, not because they were men of note, but simply because they had served as lieutenants the year after they had been tribunes of the people. The objection, however, to the appointment of Gabinius as lieutenant to Pompey in the war against the pirates, was not that he had just been tribune of the people, but that he was himself the author of the law under which alone such appointment could be made.

32. Honoris causa, *with respect;* lit., *because of honor.*

33. Quum fuissent, *after* (though) *they had been.* Time with Concession. G. 518, II.

34. Sunt tam diligentes, *are they* (people) *so scrupulous.*

79 **1. Esse deberet.** Supply *legatus.*—**De quo legando,** *the question of his appointment as lieutenant.*

3. Me relaturum, *that I will present the subject.* This Cicero had a right to do as praetor, unless forbidden by the express command (*inimicum edictum*) of the consuls.

4. Quo minus defendam; G. 499.—**Vestrum jus beneficiumque,** *your right and favor*, referring probably to the *right* and *privilege* conferred upon Pompey of appointing his own lieutenants.

5. Praeter intercessionem, *except the veto of the tribune*, to which all must submit.

7. Quid liceat, *what is lawful.* The veto of the tribune must be used only in the interest of the people.

9. Pompeio socius adscribitur, *is assigned* (i. e., in public estimation) *to Pompey as his associate.*

10. Uni, *to one commander.*

XX., XXI. *Reply to the Objection of Catulus.*

13. Q. Catuli. See note on *Q. Catulus*, p. 76, line 30.

14. Dicendum esse videatur. See note on the same words, p. 68, line 30.

15. Si poneretis, si factum esset. In a conditional sentence with two conditional clauses, the force of the Latin is usually best shown by rendering the conclusion (*in quo...habituri*) after the first condition (*si...poneretis*).—**Si quid eo factum esset,** *if any thing should happen to him*, more literally, *become of him.* G. 434, 2.

18. In ipso, *in him;* i. e., in Catulus. The incident here related occurred the preceding year, during the discussion upon the Gabinian law.

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19. Quam possit — *ut eam possit.* G. 500. 79

21. In hoc ipso, *upon this particular point;* i. e., upon the propriety of investing Pompey with the sole command.

22. Quo minus certa ac minus diuturna, hoc magis, *the less certain and lasting, the more.*—**Quo, hoc,** *the, the;* lit., *by which, by this,* or *by as much as, by so much.* Abl. of Difference. G. 418.

25. At enim, *but indeed;* introducing the main objection of Catulus, that the proposed measure is at variance with Roman custom.—**Quid novi,** *any thing new. Novi,* adjective used substantively (G. 441, 2); Partitive Gen. after *quid.* G. 396, III. 2, 3).

28. Novorum consiliorum rationes, *new measures;* a circumlocution for *nova consilia,* as the latter would not accord well in form with *novos casus temporum.*

29. Punicum. The third Punic War, from 150 to 146 B. C.

30. Hispaniense. The Spanish War, from 149 B. C. to the fall of Numantia, 133 B. C.—**Ab uno imperatore**; i. e., by Scipio Africanus Minor. See note on *alter Africanus,* p. 46, line 13.

34. C. Mario. Gaius Marius conquered Jugurtha, King of Numidia, 105 B. C., the Teutones, 102 B. C., and the Cimbri, 101 B. C. The Cimbri and the Teutones were warlike tribes from the north.

1. Novi nihil. See note on *quid novi,* p. 79, line 25. 80

2. Summa voluntate, *with the full consent.*

3. Adolescentulum...conficere. Subject of *est,* understood. G. 556, I. (1). See note on *ipse imperator,* p. 69, line 10.

4. Conficere, *should raise.*

5. Ductu suo, *under his own command;* i. e., with an independent command.

7. Peradolescenti. Pompey was at the time twenty-four years of age.—**Senatorio gradu.** The earliest age at which a Roman might at this time attain the senatorial rank was probably twenty-seven; some authorities say thirty.

8. Siciliam atque Africam. After the defeat of the Marian party in Italy, 82 B. C., Pompey was sent against the remnant of that faction in Sicily and Africa. See note on *Africanum,* p. 69, line 17.

12. Equitem Romanum triumphare. According to Roman custom, the honor of a triumph could be granted to no one who had not held the office of consul or praetor. That honor was, however, granted to Pompey before he had held either office. See note on *triumphis,* p. 69, line 15.

16. Duo consules. The consuls of the year 77 B. C., Mam. Aemilius Lepidus and D. Junius Brutus, not particularly distinguished. *Clarissimi fortissimique* are here only complimentary terms.—**Ut eques...**

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80 **mitteretur.** Subject of *est*, understood. G. 556, I. 2. Instead of *ut* with the subjunctive, the *infinitive* might have been used as in *conficere* in the fourth line above: *quam adolescentulum...conficere.*

17. Bellum maximum. The war against Sertorius in Spain. See notes on *ad eos duces*, p. 62, line 32, and on *Pompeii*, p. 63, line 3.

19. Non nemo. What would *nemo non* mean? G. 585, 1.

20. Pro consule, *as proconsul*, lit., *instead of a consul.* The consuls, at the expiration of their term of office, were usually appointed governors of provinces, with the title of *proconsul.*—**L. Philippus.** L. Marcius Philippus, a friend of Pompey, and an eloquent orator, consul 91 B. C.

21. Non pro consule...consulibus, *with the power, not of a consul, but of the consuls*, a witticism which Cicero quotes to glorify Pompey.

22. Rei publicae, *the public trust*, i. e., the war.

25. Legibus solutus, *released from the laws;* i. e., from those laws which made him ineligible to the consulship, by requiring that the candidate should be at least forty-two years of age, and that he should have held the offices of quaestor and praetor. Pompey was only thirty-five, and had never been either quaestor or praetor.—**Ante**; construe with *quam.*

26. Ullum alium magistratum; i. e., any of the higher or curule offices. To hold the lowest of these, viz., that of the *curule aedile*, one must be at least thirty-six years of age.—**Per leges licuisset**, *would have been lawful;* Potential Subjunctive.

27. Iterum triumpharet; i. e., for his victories in Spain. See note on *triumphis*, p. 69, line 15.

28. Quae nova, *the new measures, which.*

31. Profecta sunt a auctoritate, *have been conferred by the authority*, lit., *have proceeded from*, etc.

XXII., XXIII. *Contrast between Pompey and other Roman Commanders. Authorities in Favor of the Bill.*

34. Videant, *let them take care.*

81 **2. Suo jure**, *in their own right;* i. e., with perfect propriety, as they had done so in the case of the Gabinian law, with the most important results to the state.

3. Vel, *even.*

8. Plus in re publica vidistis, *saw more clearly the public interests;* lit., *saw more* (farther) *in* (in regard to) *the public interests.*

9. Vos, *if you.* The condition continues, though the conjunction is omitted.

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11. Isti principes, *those leaders;* i. e., leaders though they are, 81
they *must obey* the Roman people.—**Sibi, auctoritati**; G. 388; 384.

13. Bello...regio. See notes on *belli Asiatici*, p. 65, line 35, and on *bellum regium*, p. 76, line 27.

15. Difficile est. Because of the great temptations to selfishness and avarice which those distant countries presented.

16. Asia. See note on *Asiam*, p. 61, line 15.—**Cilicia.** A district of Asia Minor, on the northern shores of the Mediterranean.—**Syria.** A country on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean.

17. Ita versari, *so to conduct himself.*—**Nihil aliud nisi,** *nothing except.* G. 588, III. 1.

18. Pudore...moderatiores, *of greater self-control* (i. e., less lawless) *from their regard for decency and moderation.*

26. Jam requiruntur, *are already becoming scarce;* i. e., they have been already plundered.

27. Causa belli, *a pretext for war.*—**Inferatur.** Potential Subjunctive. G. 486, III.

28. Coram, *face to face;* render *in private.*

29. Noverunt; G. 297, I. 2.

32. Hostium simulatione, *under the pretence of acting against the enemy.*

33. Non modo, sed, *not to say, but.*

34. Tribuni militum. Each Roman legion had six military tribunes.—**Animos...capere,** *to satisfy the desires and demands.*

35. Collatis signis, *in battle;* lit., *the standards having been brought together;* i. e., in an engagement.

4. Qui mittatur; G. 501, III. 82

6. Istis pacata esse videatur. If a city is wealthy, these avaricious generals will easily find a pretext for plundering it.

7. Ora maritima...requisivit; i. e., in the war against the pirates.—**Ora maritima,** *the sea-coast;* i. e., its inhabitants.

9. Praetores, etc. Among others, M. Antonius Creticus, who was sent against the pirates 74 B. C., richly deserved the severe censure here pronounced against the Roman commanders.

10. Praetor paucos. Among the few noble exceptions, Cicero doubtless had P. Servilius Vatia especially in mind, as he was present, favored the proposed law, and had himself commanded with great success in the war against the pirates.

11. Classium nomine, *with their so-called fleets,* lit., *with the name of fleets.*

13. Quibus jacturis, *with what expenditure of money;* i. e., in bribery to secure an appointment.—**Quibus condicionibus,** *upon*

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82 *what terms*, referring doubtless to engagements made with those who aided them in securing the appointment.

14. **Ignorant videlicet.** Sarcastic and ironical. They pretend to be ignorant, or at least act as if they were.

15. **Quasi videamus**; G. 506.

17. **Nolite dubitare**; G. 538, 2.

18. **Huic uni**, *to this one man* (Pompey); i. e., instead of dividing the command among several generals.—**Qui unus**, *the only one who.* G. 453, 5.—**Inventus sit, gaudeant**; Subjunctive of Result.

19. **Quem venisse gaudeant**, *whom they rejoice to see come*, lit., *to have come.*

20. **Auctoritatibus confirmandam.** See note on *tametsi cognoscetis...contrarias*, p. 76, line 34.

21. **Est vobis auctor**, *you have the authority of*, or more lit., *you have as an adviser.*

22. **P. Servilius.** P. Servilius Vatia, surnamed Isauricus from his famous victory over the Isaurians. He had already spoken in favor of the Manilian law. He was consul 79 B. C., and commanded with great success against the pirates from 78 to 75 B. C.—**Tantae exstiterunt**, *have been so great.*

24. **Est C. Curio.** Supply *vobis auctor.* C. Scribonius Curio, a Roman general and orator, consul 76 B. C. He commanded in Macedonia from 75 to 73 B. C., and triumphed over the Dardanians and Thracians, 71 B. C.

26. **Praeditus.** With *beneficiis* and *rebus*, render *distinguished.*—**Cn. Lentulus.** Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus, consul 72 B. C., a lieutenant of Pompey in the war against the pirates.

27. **Pro**, *in accordance with*, or *as shown by.*

28. **C. Cassius.** C. Cassius Varus, consul 73 B. C., defeated by Spartacus in the Servile War, 72 B. C.

29. **Videte, horumne**, etc., *observe whether*, etc.

30. **Illorum**; i. e., of Catulus and Hortensius.

XXIV. *Conclusion.*

32. **C. Manili.** Gaius Manilius, the tribune of the people and the author of the Manilian law. G. 52, 2.

34. **Auctore populo Romano**, *with the support of the Roman people.* G. 431.

35. **Neve**, *and not.* G. 490, 1.

83 2. **Iterum**, *a second time.* They had witnessed a similar scene during the discussion of the Gabinian law.

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3. **Quid est quod dubitemus**, *what reason is there why we should* 83 *doubt?* G. 501, I. 1.

4. **De perficiendi facultate**, *in regard to our ability to accomplish it*, i. e., to secure the appointment of Pompey.

5. **Quidquid possum**, *whatever influence I possess.* G. 380, 2.

6. **Hoc beneficio**, *through* (by) *this favor*, i. e., through his office as praetor, as explained by *hac potestate praetoria.*

9. **Eos maxime, qui.** Cicero refers, doubtless, to those gods whose temples were in the immediate vicinity of the Forum, as Jupiter, Castor, Venus, Concord, and others.—**Huic loco temploque**, *this consecrated place;* i. e., the Rostra. *Templum*, which often means not a temple, but a consecrated place, is simply explanatory of *loco.*

10. **Qui ad rem publicam adeunt**, *who apply themselves to public affairs.*

12. **Neque quo putem**; G. 520, 3.

14. **Praesidia periculis...honoribus**, *defence against perils and aid in securing honors.* G. 392. The consulship was the only remaining object of Cicero's ambition.

16. **Ut hominem...oportet**, *as far as it is proper for a man to promise this*, implying that such security comes only from the gods.—**Repellemus**; G. 446, 2.

17. **Eadem illa...vitae**; i. e., from the practice of his profession at the bar.

19. **Feret**, *shall permit.*

20. **Mihi**; 388, 1.

22. **Tantumque abest ut...videar, ut intelligam**, *and so far am I from appearing...that I know.* G. 496, 3.—**Ut...videar**; Subject of *abest.*

25. **Vobis non inutiles**, *not useless to you.* By metonymy the *effect* for the *cause.* Strictly, it is Cicero's course of action, not the enmities incurred thereby, which will be advantageous to the state. G. 705, II.—**Hoc honore**; i. e., the praetorship.

28. **Rationibus**, *personal interests.*

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ORATION FOR MARCELLUS,

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE, BEFORE CAESAR, IN THE YEAR 46 B. C.

INTRODUCTION.

MARCUS CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS belonged to the ancient and illustrious Claudian gens, which had produced a long line of distinguished statesmen and generals. He was the intimate friend of Cicero, was an orator of some repute, was consul in the year 51 B. C., and, while in office, incurred the displeasure of Caesar, then commanding in Gaul, by proposing that he should be recalled from his province. At the opening of the Civil War, he betook himself to the camp of Pompey, but, after the battle of Pharsalia, he retired to Mitylene, where he devoted himself to the study of philosophy and oratory. Here he repeatedly received letters from his friend Cicero, urging him, both for his own sake and for the sake of his country, to return to Rome and receive pardon from Caesar. This, however, he persistently refused to do.

Thus the case stood when, in the summer of 46 B. C., Lucius Piso, Caesar's father-in-law, mentioned Marcellus in the senate as a suitable subject for clemency. Gaius Marcellus, the brother of the exile, instantly threw himself at Caesar's feet, while the whole senate attested their sympathy and interest by gathering about the Dictator in the attitude of suppliants. Caesar, whose policy to his opponents had from the first been marked by great clemency, said that he would not refuse the request of the senate, though he clearly foresaw the peril which would attend the recall of implacable opponents and foes. Cicero, who had for a long time been living in comparative seclusion, was so overjoyed at this announcement that he delivered upon the spot a spirited oration eulogizing in the strongest terms the magnanimity of the

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Dictator, and thanking him for this exercise of his accustomed clemency and mercy.

Marcellus, being thus honorably recalled and restored in full to all the rights of Roman citizenship, could no longer refuse to comply with the earnest entreaties of his friend Cicero to return to his native land. Accordingly, after some delay, he started upon his homeward journey, but he had proceeded only as far as Athens when he was assassinated by one of his attendants. His body was burned in the Academy, and a marble monument was erected to his memory.

ANALYSIS.

I. Introduction. I.

II. Eulogy upon the Clemency and Magnanimity of Caesar. II.—VI.

III. Reply to the Opinion of Caesar that he has lived long enough. VII.—X.

IV. Conclusion. XI.

I. *Introduction. Cicero, in view of the Clemency of Caesar, is unable longer to remain silent.*

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1. **Diuturni silentii.** This silence had continued for several years. 84 Cicero left Rome with the title of proconsul, in the year 51 B. C., to take charge of the province of Cilicia. In the Civil War he espoused the cause of Pompey, but, after the disastrous battle of Pharsalia, he returned to Italy, where he was finally pardoned by Caesar in the year 47 B. C. He took no part, however, in the discussions of the senate until the magnanimity of Caesar in pardoning his friend Marcellus called forth the present oration.—**Eram usus**, *had observed;* i. e., before the pardon of Marcellus; hence Pluperfect.

2. **Dolore**, *from sorrow;* explained by *dolebam enim*, etc., line 12 below.

3. **Verecundia**, *from a sense of propriety;* explained by *nec fas esse*, etc., line 15 below.

4. **Vellem**; G. 482, 1.

6. **Clementiam**; i. e., the clemency of Caesar in pardoning Mar-

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84 cellus.—**Rerum omnium**; construe with *potestate.*—**Modum**, *moderation.*

8. Tacitus; G. 443.—**M. enim Marcello.** See Introduction, p. 262. On the position of *enim*, see G. 602, III.

10. Illius. This depends upon *vocem* and *auctoritatem.*

13. Quum fuisset; G. 518, I.—**In eadem causa**; i. e., in the party of Pompey.

16. Studiorum; construe with *aemulo atque imitatore.* Marcellus was an orator.

17. Quasi quodam; G. 456, 2.—**Socio, comite**; Appositives; G. 363, 3.

18. Interclusam, *closed;* i. e., long since laid aside.

19. His omnibus; i. e., the senators; Indirect Object of *sustulit.*

20. Signum sustulisti, *you have raised the standard;* a metaphor from military life.

21. In multis, *in the case of many persons;* i. e., of those whom Caesar had pardoned.

85 **1. Omnibus.** Dative.

2. Commemoratis offensionibus. Caesar had just spoken of the implacable hostility of Marcellus.

8. Dato beneficio...accepto; G. 580.

9. Cujus...pervenerit; G. 501, I.

II.—IV. *Caesar has won Great Glory by his Valor and Military Achievements, but still greater by his Remarkable Magnanimity and Clemency.*

15. Nullius, *no man's;* G. 457, 2. This genitive depends upon *flumen.* G. 397, 2.—**Tantum**; predicate adjective.—**Flumen ingenii.** A bold figure.

18. Pace tua, *with your permission.*

20. Idque usurpare, *and to make* (use) *this statement*, viz., *omnes ...res gestas...conferri.*

24. Numero proeliorum. Pliny says that Caesar fought fifty battles. According to Plutarch, he stormed more than eight hundred cities. —**Varietate regionum.** Caesar fought in Gaul, Britain, Germany, Spain, Italy, Epirus, Thessaly, Africa, and Asia Minor.

25. Dissimilitudine bellorum, *in diversity of modes of warfare.*

27. Cursibus, *marches.*

28. Lustratae sunt, *they have been traversed.* This verb means to traverse and explore somewhat fully, while *peragro* is simply *to go through.*

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30. Mens, cogitatio. *Mens*, the mind, the thinking faculty; *cogitatio*, the exercise of that faculty.—**Capere**, *to comprehend, grasp.* 85

31. Alia majora. Cicero refers to Caesar's forbearance and magnanimity.

32. Ducibus; G. 386, 2.

33. Cum multis, *with many;* i. e., with many others.—**Imperatorum**; G. 399, 3, 3).

1. Ducit. The subject is a pronoun referring to *fortuna.* 86

2. Hujus gloriae; i. e., the glory derived from pardoning Marcellus.

7. In societatem, *for a share;* i. e., to share.

9. Nunquam enim. Cicero here adds, in a style somewhat rhetorical, but not very precise, the reason why fortune can claim no share in the glory derived from an act of generosity; because in such acts rashness (*temeritas*) and chance (*casus*) have no part.

11. Gentes...barbaras; as the Germans, Gauls, and Britons.—**Multitudine innumerabiles**; as the Gauls and Egyptians.

12. Locis infinitas, *with vast extent of territory;* lit., *unlimited in places;* i. e. in territory.

13. Naturam et condicionem, ut, *such a nature and character, that.*

16. Vincere, cohibere, etc. In apposition with *haec*, line 19 below.—**Adversarium**; Marcellus.

18. Amplificare...pristinam dignitatem. This language implies that this act of Caesar confers new honor and dignity upon Marcellus.

24. Ejus modi res; i. e., praises for military achievements.

25. Obstrepi videntur, *seem to be drowned.* G. 549, 4, 1).

30. In fictis, *in fiction*; lit., *in fictitious things.*

31. Te. Object of *efferemus.*

33. Ut velis, *so that you desire;* i. e., we know from the expression of your countenance (*os cernimus*) that you desire. Subjunctive of Result.

36. Medius fidius; also written *mediusfidius*, and *me dius fidius;* used in emphatic asseverations and oaths; *most truly, certainly, indeed.* The original form was probably *me Dius Fidius juvet*, may the true God help me!

1. Illa auctoritas, *the authority of that man;* i. e., of Marcellus, 87
lit., *that authority*, referring, doubtless, to his senatorial rank and influence.

3. C. Marcelli. The brother of Marcus Marcellus, the exile. See Introduction, p. 262.

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87 **4. Pietate**, *fraternal affection.*

6. Marcello conservato; G. 580.

7. Ad paucos. There remained at the time, so far as is known, only three surviving members of the family.

9. Gratulationibus, *congratulations;* by metonymy for successes, achievements, occasions for joy and congratulations.

11. Multo...comitatu; i. e., with a large number of officers and men to share the honor.

12. Tu idem es, *you are at once;* lit., *you the same one are.*

13. Quae quidem, etc. In this sentence there is an anacoluthon after the parenthetical clause, *nihil...vetustas.* G. 704, III. 4. Otherwise the clause, *at haec tua...laudibus*, would depend upon *ut.* The general thought is this: *Which is in truth so great, that time may indeed destroy your trophies, but will only enhance the glory derived from this act.*

16. Quotidie. The usual distinction between *quotidie* and *in dies* would here require the latter.

17. Quantum operibus, etc. Construe thus: *diuturnitas tantum afferat laudibus quantum*, etc.

20. Ut possit; G. 492, 4, 1).

21. Perinde atque, *exactly as.* G. 587, I. 2.

22. Quae illa...adepta, *which it* (victory) *had secured*, referring especially to the power which it gave him over his political opponents.

V., VI. *The Significance and Influence of this Act of Mercy. Caesar's Present Course contrasted with the Plans of his Opponents.*

27. Hoc judicium...attendite; G. 525, 2.

29. Fato nescio quo, *by I know not what destiny.*

34. Reddidit; like *conservavit*, dependent upon *quum.*

35. Non ille, etc. Here begins the leading clause of the sentence.

36. A plerisque; i. e., by most of the partisans of Pompey. Cicero is interested in excusing the party as much as possible, not only because he had himself belonged to it, but also because he desires to procure the pardon of still other members of it.—**Ignoratione**; i. e., through ignorance of the intentions of Caesar.—**Potius**; construe with *quam* in the next line.

88 **1. Bellum**; i. e., the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey.

2. De pace audiendum, *that proposals of peace should be listened to.* This statement is literally true, as is shown by his letters. From the very beginning of the struggle between Pompey and Caesar, he labored to effect a reconciliation, hoping thus to avert the horrors of civil war.

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5. **Illa**; construe with *arma civilia.* 88

6. **Pacis**; G. 399.—**Togae**, *the toga;* the garb of peace, added to *pacis* as a synonyme.

7. **Privato officio, non publico**, *from a sense of personal obligation, not of duty to the state*; i. e., his personal obligations to Pompey were so great that he could not desert him. This is, however, but a poor excuse, if he thought Pompey in the wrong.

8. **Grati...memoria**, *grateful recollections*, lit., a faithful recollection of grateful feelings (mind).

13. **Integra re**, *before the outbreak of the war;* Abl. Absolute.

14. **Capitis periculo**; i. e., from Pompey's party, who would listen to no compromise.—**Ex quo**, *wherefore.*

22. **Hujus rei**; i. e., that he too favored peace.

25. **Certorum**; i. e., of certain persons who might be named; referring, perhaps, to Lentulus, Domitius, and others among the more violent members of his own party.

34. **Partis**; construe with *victoriam.* Pompey's party is of course meant.

35. **Futuram fuisse victoriam.** In apposition with *id*, and thus dependent upon *dicam.*

36. **Armatis**, *those in arms against them;* i. e., the party of Caesar. G. 385.

1. **Otiosis**, *peaceable citizens;* i. e., those who were neutral. 89

4. **Expetiverunt, excitaverunt**; G. 508; 527, 2, 1).

8. **Bono**, *endowment;* referring especially to *clementiam et sapientiam* above. G. 414, 2, 1).

10. **Ex quo**, *from which;* referring especially to *bono*, which is, however, more fully explained by *fortuna et gloria* and *natura et moribus.*

16. **Quae.** Object of *dicere.* For gender, see G. 445, 3, 1).

18. **A virtute**; G. 414, 6.

19. **Commodata**, *loaned;* thus delicately reminding Caesar of the uncertain tenure by which he holds them.

22. **Specie...publicae**, *by some apparent public benefit*, lit., *appearance of*, etc.

24. **Fuisse**, *that you were;* i. e., when they feared you. They have now learned their mistake.

VII. *Reply to the Opinion of Caesar that his Life is in Danger.*

26. **Nunc venio**, etc. With these words commences the second general division of the oration.—**Atrocissimam suspicionem tuam**,

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89 *the most atrocious crime which you suspect*, lit., *your most atrocious suspicion. Suspicionem* is here used by metonymy for the *thing suspected*, i. e., the suspected crime; hence *atrocissimam;* hence also *quae providenda est*, which is not at all applicable to the *suspicion*, but only to the *crime* to which that suspicion relates.

28. Civibus, nobis; G. 417, 1.

31. In alterutro, *on one side or the other.*

32. Iste, *that one;* i. e., the one to whom you refer.—**Tam demens**; i. e., as to plot against your life.

33. Quam quibus. After *quam* supply *ii*, the omitted antecedent of *quibus.*

34. Eo numero qui = *numero eorum qui.*

36. Quo duce, hujus vitam, *the life of this man, under whose command.*

90 **2. Qui fuerunt.** Supply *inimici.*

9. Tam nihil cogitans, *so thoughtless.*

10. Nec, nec; G. 585, 2.

11. Unius tua; G. 397, 3.

12. Omnium. Supply *vitam.*—**Dies noctesque**; Lat. Comp. 411, 2.

18. Consensio, *a conspiracy.*

VIII., IX. *Caesar has a Great Work yet to accomplish—a Work indispensable alike to the Welfare of the State and to his own Fame.*

20. Sunt excitanda, *must be raised up, restored;* opposed to *jacere* in the next line.

21. Quod. This refers to the clause *quae jacere belli . . . prostrata.*

23. Propaganda suboles, *population must be increased.* It had been greatly reduced by the carnage of the civil wars.

24. Diffluxerunt, *have gone to ruin.*—**Vincienda sunt,** *must be secured, recovered.*—**Non fuit recusandum,** *it was unavoidable;* lit., *was not to be refused.*

29. Togatus, *clad in the toga*, i. e., in time of peace.

32. Sapientissimam. The remark of Caesar is so called because it shows a *philosophic contempt* of death.

33. Invitus, *with regret.* G. 443.—**Naturae vixi.** Caesar was probably fifty-four years old.

91 **1. Prudentiam,** *philosophy.*—**Periculo**; G. 414.

3. Id audirem, *I would assent to it.*

9. Istud, *that;* i. e., the measure of life designated in the preceding sentence.—**Gloriae**; Dative.

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19. Pervagata, *wide-spread, well known;* construe with *fama.* 91

20. Magnorum; construe with *meritorum.*

22. Pars, actus, *part, act;* i. e., of the drama of life.

23. Eaque. *Ea* refers to *rem publicam.* G. 419, I.

25. Te. Subject of *vixisse.*—**Voles**; G. 470, 2.

26. Dicito; G. 534, II.; 537, I.

27. Hoc ipsum diu. *Diu* is here used substantively, referring back to *diu vixisse.* G. 42, III. 2.—**Aliquid extremum**, *an end.*

31. Fuit, flagravit; G. 587, III. 4.

33. Continetur, *consists of.*

35. Huic. This refers to *aeternitas*, which, however, includes *posteritas* and *memoria saeculorum omnium.*—**Inservias**; G. 496, 1.

36. Quae miretur; G. 501, I. The antecedent is *multa.*—**Jam pridem habet**; G. 467, 2.

2. Imperia. Object of *audientes* and *legentes.*—**Rhenum**; i. e., 92
Caesar's achievements in the vicinity of the Rhine, referring to his victories over the Gauls and Germans.

3. Oceanum. This refers to the invasion of Britain.—**Nilum**; i. e., Caesar's military achievements in Egypt.

4. Munera, *festivals, games;* so called because they were regarded as *presents* from the magistrates to the people. Caesar had recently given such festivals.

10. Aliquid requirent, *will find some defect in them.*

11. Illud, hoc, *the former, the latter. Illud* refers to *incendium; hoc*, to *incendium restinxisse.*

12. Consilii; Predicate Genitive.—**Servi**, *regard.*

15. Cupiditate, *affection;* a synonyme of *amore.*

16. Tum; i. e., *multis post saeculis.*—**Quidam**; i. e., the Epicureans, who did not believe in a future existence.

X. *The Dissensions of Civil War are happily terminated. The Safety of the State depends upon the Safety of Caesar.*

19. Diversae voluntates. Cicero now returns to the dissensions of the recent Civil War.

21. Obscuritas, *uncertainty;* i. e., in regard to the merits of the case.

22. Clarissimos duces. Caesar and Pompey.

24. Perfuncta est, *has reached the close of.*

25. Qui inflammaret; Subjunctive of Result.

28. Ab aliis, ab aliis, *by some, from others.*

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92 **30. Liberatus.** Concessive. G. 578, IV.

34. Unum velint, *should have one desire.*

35. Non solum, *not to say.*

36. Nisi te salvo et manente; G. 431, 3.

93 **2. Haec,** *these things,* i. e., the city and state.

4. Tibi; Indirect Object of *pollicemur.*

6. Excubias, custodias. Of these two synonymes, the former gives prominence to the idea of *watching,* the latter to that of *guarding.*

XI. *Conclusion.*

8. Unde est orsa, etc.; i. e., in the expression of thanks, the main object of the oration.

9. Majores. Supply *gratias.* With *habeo,* the singular is more common, but the plural is here retained from *gratias agimus.* See Syn. L. C. 548.

11. Precibus et lacrimis. See Introduction, p. 262.

12. Stantibus dicere, *to rise and say so.*

13. Quod decet, id; i. e., *lactari omnes,* etc., as explained in the next clause.

16. Quod autem...est, quum id, etc., *but since by my solicitude,* etc., *I showed proof* (*marks,* lit., *that which is of*) *of the strongest affection,* etc. The antecedent of *quod* is *id,* line 19, from which it is separated by the long parenthetical clause, *quae...nemini.*

17. Quae mea erga illum, *and this feeling of mine towards him.* G. 453.

19. Fratri, *brother.* See Introduction. Some render it, *cousin.*

23. Ut maximus cumulus accesserit; briefly expressed for *ut maximum cumulum accessisse confitear, as to admit that,* etc.—**Omnibus rebus.** Ablative.

24. Tamen. The correlative is implied in the Abl. Absol., *me conservato, ornato.*

25. Quod. The antecedent is implied in the clause, *maximus...accesserit.*

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ORATION FOR LIGARIUS,

DELIVERED IN THE FORUM, BEFORE THE DICTATOR CAESAR, IN THE YEAR 46 B. C.

INTRODUCTION.

QUINTUS LIGARIUS, in whose behalf this interesting and beautiful oration was delivered, had been an active partisan of Pompey in the Civil War.

In the year 50 B. C., Ligarius, who was then lieutenant under Gaius Considius, governor of Africa, was left in charge of that province when the governor himself returned to Rome to sue for the consulship. At the opening of the Civil War, a few months later, he was importuned by the friends of Pompey in Africa, to put himself at their head, and thus secure the province for their party, but this he positively refused to do. About this time, however, P. Attius Varus, who had commanded for Pompey in Picenum, but had been deserted by his troops, arrived in Africa and assumed the command. Ligarius readily consented to serve under him, and thus united his fortunes with the cause of Pompey. He was finally taken prisoner at Adrumetum, where his life was spared through the clemency of Caesar, though he was not permitted to return to Rome. An effort was, however, soon after made by his friends to secure his recall from exile, but Quintus Tubero, who had himself been a partisan of Pompey, but had been pardoned by the Dictator, sought to defeat this movement in his behalf by preferring a formal charge against him as one who had borne arms in Africa against Caesar. Cicero replied in defence, praying that the clemency which the Dictator had shown to him and to Tubero, might not be refused to Ligarius in his misfortune and exile. The appeal was successful, and Ligarius

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was pardoned, but he still remained implacable, and, two years after, became one of the assassins of Caesar.

ANALYSIS.

I. Introduction. I.
II. Reply to the Charge of the Accuser. II.—IX.
III. Appeal to Caesar's Clemency. X.—XII.

I. *Introduction. Cicero ridicules the Charge brought against Ligarius, and gives a Brief Statement of the Case.*

PAGE
94 **1. Novum crimen**, etc. The first ten lines of this oration furnish us a specimen of well-sustained irony and ridicule.

2. Propinquus meus. The exact relationship is not known, but Lucius Tubero, the father of the accuser, is supposed to have married into the Tullian gens, to which Cicero belonged.—**Tubero, Ligarium.** See Introduction, p. 271.

3. In Africa fuisse. To make the accusation appear as ludicrous as possible, the orator artfully omits the essential part of it, viz., that while in Africa Ligarius bore arms against Caesar.—**C. Pansa.** C. Vibius Pansa, a friend of Caesar, afterwards consul 43 B. C.

4. Fretus...ausus est confiteri. Observe the irony. Pansa had already interceded in behalf of Ligarius.

6. Quum neque scires, *since you would not know*, i. e., as I supposed. The whole subject is presented in as ludicrous a light as possible. Of course Caesar could not be ignorant of the fact that Ligarius had been in Africa.

7. Ut abuterer, *to take advantage of;* the Purpose of *paratus veneram.*

10. Integrum, *an open question.*

11. Omissaque controversia, etc. Cicero drops the irony for the present.

13. Liberationem, veniam, *acquittal, pardon.*

14. Habes igitur, etc. Cicero now turns to Tubero, the accuser. —**Quod.** The antecedent is *id*, understood, with which *confitentem reum* is in apposition.

16. In ea parte; i. e., in the party of Pompey.—**Qua te.** The

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preposition *in* is readily supplied from *in ea parte*.—**Te.** Subject of *fuisse*. G. 531, 1. 94

17. Patrem. Lucius Tubero, who also belonged to Pompey's party. —**Confiteamini**; G. 496, 1.

21. C. Considio. See Introduction, p. 271. In the Civil War, Considius espoused the cause of Pompey.

22. Civibus; i. e., to the Roman citizens residing in Africa.

3. Invitus; G. 443. 95

8. Salutis; construe with *ducem, a leader to secure their safety.*

9. Ad suos. His family remained neutral.

11. P. Attius Varus. See Introduction, p. 271.—**Praetor.** The term *praetor*, or *propraetor*, was a common title for a Roman governor. —**Africam obtinuerat**; i. e., a few years before.—**Uticam,** *to Utica;* then the chief city of the province. G. 379.

15. Nullo publico consilio, *without any legal authority.*

16. Qui cuperet; G. 519.—**Paulum conquievit,** *obtained a little rest*, i. e., rest for a short time. He was compelled, however, soon after to take part in the war.

II. *Review of the Conduct of Ligarius in Africa.*

21. Ei, *for it*, i. e., for the province.—**Pacem esse,** *that there should be peace*, i. e., that peace should continue. *Pacem esse* is the subject of *expediret.*

24. Habuit, *had as its motive.*

28. Quod, *during which.* G. 378.—**Quod si,** *and if this.* G. 453.

31. Fratribus; i. e., his two brothers, who remained neutral.

34. Hic, *under these circumstances.*

5. Defendit, *asserts in the defence.* 96

7. De alio audienti; i. e., while listening to his defence of Ligarius.—**De se ipso,** *in regard to himself*, i. e., Cicero.

III. *Panegyric upon the Clemency of Caesar in pardoning Cicero and Tubero.*

9. Quam non reformidem, *how entirely free I am from fear.*—**Lux liberalitatis...oboriatur.** Observe the figurative character of the expression.

10. Sapientiae. Cicero here suggests that clemency is a mark of wisdom.

11. Voce contendam ut, *I will raise my voice* (lit., *strive with my voice*) *so that.*

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96 **12. Gesto etiam ex parte magna.** After the opening of the Civil War, Cicero hesitated for months, but finally espoused the cause of Pompey. See note on *diuturni silentii*, p. 84, line 1.

16. Antequam vidit. Caesar was then prosecuting the war in Egypt, and had not seen Cicero since his return to Italy.

19. Alterum. Supply *imperatorem*. Cicero had recently received the title of *imperator* for his military successes in Cilicia.—**A quo concessos**, *by whose permission*, lit., *by whom granted*.

20. Fasces laureatos. These were the insignia of victory. Cicero was very proud of them, and retained them for a long time in the hope of ultimately obtaining the honor of a triumph.

21. Tum denique, si, *only if*, lit., *then finally, if;* i. e., then, and then only.

24. Ut audeam. Indirect Question. Cicero implies that he would not dare to say that Ligarius had voluntarily taken up arms against Caesar as he himself had done, because it would not be true. The expression may, however, be explained as ironical.

25. De Ligarii; G. 397, 1.

27. Industriae; i. e., his application to his profession as an orator.

32. Prohibitum se...queritur. Soon after Varus had assumed the command in Africa, L. Aelius Tubero, who had just been appointed governor of the province, arrived in the harbor of Utica, accompanied by his son Quintus. Varus at once issued an order that neither father nor son should be allowed to land. Ligarius is supposed to have executed the order.

35. In acie Pharsalica, *in the battle of Pharsalia*, or *Pharsalus;* the decisive battle, fought 48 B. C., near Pharsalus, in Thessaly. Pompey was defeated, and Caesar became master of Rome.

36. Qui sensus...tuorum, *what were the sentiments of your arms;* i. e., with what feelings and purpose did you take up arms? The oratory in this passage, it will be observed, becomes impassioned and highly figurative.

97 **1. Cupiebas, optabas.** Synonymes, of which the former expresses a stronger *desire*, the latter a more calm *determination*.

3. Iisdem in armis. Not, indeed, in the same battle, but on the same side in the war.

IV., V. *The Accusation against Ligarius is cruel and inhuman.*

4. Egimus, *did we aim at?*—**Nisi ut...possemus**, *except that we might have the power which Caesar* (lit., *this one*) *now possesses.*

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5. **Quorum impunitas**, *whose pardon;* referring to the pardon of 97 Tubero.

7. **Nonnihil desidero**, *I miss somewhat.*

11. **Agi**. The subject is *eam*, understood, referring to *causam.*

15. **Vim**, *effect, purpose.*

17. **Mores.** Supply *sunt.*—**Usque...incitari odio.** In Apposition with *mores.*

18. **Levium**, *impulsive.*—**Graecorum.** Predicate Genitive, explaining the Predicate Adjective *externi.*

20. **Hoc T. Broccho**, *Titus Brocchus here present.* He was the brother of the mother of Ligarius.

21. **Ejus**, *his*, referring to Brocchus.—**Suo**, *his*, referring to Ligarius.

22. **Num est**, *is that it?* i. e., *is that your object?* referring to *quid agis*, line 19 above.

25. **Eum dictatorem**; i. e., L. Cornelius Sulla, during whose terrible proscriptions thousands of Roman citizens were put to death.

27. **Praemiis.** Sulla offered a reward of two talents for the head of any proscribed person.

28. **Ab hoc eodem**, *by this same man*, i. e., by Caesar, who, in the year 64 B. C., seventeen years after (*aliquot annis post*) the events just mentioned, brought prosecutions against the unprincipled agents of Sulla.

32. **Generis, virtutis**; G. 397, 2. Tubero belonged to the Aelian gens, which had produced many illustrious names.

35. **Parum attenditis**, *you do not sufficiently consider*, i. e., the consequences of your prosecution.

36. **Eo.** Explained by *ut...videamini esse contenti.*

5. **Ad pedes**, *at his feet;* i. e., at the feet of Caesar.—**Causae** 98 **fidentes**; Lat. Comp. 238, 4.

7. **Supplicum voce**; i. e., from the privilege of making supplication.

8. **Domi**; i. e., at the house of Caesar.

10. **Cave ignoscas**; G. 535, 1, 2); 493, 2.—**Te fratrum misereat**; G. 410, III.

12. **Hoc**; i. e., *id te oppugnare et...tollere.*—**Quod.** The antecedent is *id*, not *hoc.*

14. **Perfugium misericordiae**; i. e., the refuge derived from Caesar's mercy and clemency.

16. **Per te obtines**, *possess by nature.*

18. **De victoribus, de victis.** *De* with the Abl. to avoid the ambiguity of the genitives *victorum, victorum.* G. 398, 4, 2).

20. **Ignosci nemini**, *no one to be pardoned.* G. 301, 1.

21. **Etiam hi**; i. e., the Tuberos, father and son.

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98 **24. Saluti civi**; G. 390.—**Saluti esse**, *to defend;* used of an advocate.

29. Tunc, *then;* i. e., in the case just supposed.

32. Qua qui utitur, *and he who employs it.* G. 453, 3.

VI. *The Charge of Crime against Ligarius is unreasonable and absurd.*

34. Primus aditus, *the first step*, i. e., in approaching the subject. —**Postulatio**, *request;* referring to the application which Tubero made to Caesar, in accordance with Roman law, for permission to institute a prosecution.

36. Vel quod, vel quod. Supply *dicere vellet.*

99 **2. Illa causa**; i. e., the cause of Pompey.

4. Qui durius, *who call it by a severer name.* Supply *appellant.*

6. Nostri mali, *of our misfortune*, i. e., of the Civil War.

10. Liceat esse miseros, *may we be allowed to be* (i. e., be regarded as) *unfortunate;* i. e., unfortunate (*miseros*) rather than wicked (*sceleratos*).

12. Fuerint, *they may have been.*—**Sceleris crimine carere**, *to be free from the imputation of crime.*

13. Parricidii, *of treason.*

15. Contumeliam. Cicero refers, doubtless, to the decree of the senate, passed 49 B. C., requiring Caesar to resign the governorship of Gaul and disband his army.

18. Ut tibi cum...conveniret, *to make an agreement with*, etc.

23. Quum voluisses, *since you would have wished;* i. e., if Tubero's view is correct.

24. Illam; G. 445, 4.

25. Utrisque cupientibus, aberrantibus; Abl. Absol. On *utrisque*, see G. 459, 4.

27. Principum; i. e., of Caesar and Pompey.

28. Non par...sequebantur. In rank, the party of Pompey, which was also the senatorial party, was greatly superior.

VII.—IX. *The Course of Ligarius in the Civil War contrasted with that of Tubero.*

34. Utrum. Subject of *fuisse;* explained by the clauses, *Ligarium ...exire*, and *vos...venire*, in apposition with it.

36. Poteramusne. Supply *in Africam non venire* from the preceding line.

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1. **Nullo modo.** This is Cicero's answer. 100

2. **Quum parere...erat**; i. e., before the Civil War began.

5. **Aliter**, *otherwise*, i. e., to act otherwise.—**Disciplinae**, *training, education.*

6. **Quibus rebus gloriemini**, *in which you glory;* i. e., obedience to the senate.

7. **Tuberonis sors...est.** Provinces were assigned by lot. Lucius Tubero, the father of Quintus, is meant.

9. **Excusare**, *to excuse himself*, i. e., from accepting a province.

11. **Militiae contubernales.** In the Social or Marsian War, 88 B. C.—**Post affines.** By Tubero's marriage into the Tullian gens.

14. **Quidam.** This refers, doubtless, to some one still living, some prominent partisan of Pompey.—**Ita opponebat**, *so presented.*

18. **Quorum erat una causa**, *whose cause was the same;* referring to the praetors who had received provinces.

19. **Jam occupatam**; i. e., by Varus. See p. 95, lines 10 to 15; also note on *prohibitum se...queritur*, p. 96, line 32.

20. **Si crimen est voluisse**, *if it is a crime to have wished;* i. e., to have wished to get possession of Africa.

23. **Quam...maluisse**, *than that some one* (i. e., Varus) *preferred to retain it.*—**Se.** Subject of *obtinere* to be supplied.

26. **Quoquo modo...habet**, *however that is.*

27. **Essetis.** Supply *recepti.*

28. **Tradituri fuistis**; G. 510, 2.

33. **Cujus interfuit**, *whose interest it was.*

35. **Non esset probata**, *would not have been approved*, i. e., by you, because it would have been a dishonorable act.

2. **Veniebatis.** Addressed to Tubero, in the plural, to include both 101
father and son. For the force of the tense, see G. 469, 1.—**Igitur**, *then;* resuming the main subject. G. 587, IV. 3.

3. **Unam ex omnibus**, *of all without exception.*—**Huic victoriae**, *to the success of this cause;* i. e., of Caesar's cause.

4. **Rex.** Juba, King of Numidia, a firm friend of Pompey.

5. **Aliena**, *averse to it;* Predicate Adj. with *erat*, understood.—**Conventus**; Genitive. *Conventus* here denotes an *association*, or *corporation*, consisting of Roman citizens residing in a province. The powerful association here mentioned espoused the cause of Pompey.

7. **Dubitem**; G. 486, II.

11. **Si veniebatis, venissetis.** Mixed form of a conditional sentence. The Indicative in the condition admits for the moment, for the sake of the argument, the supposed defence of Tubero: *If you were going*, etc.; to assume for the moment this line of defence for you.

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101 **16. In hoc**; explained by *vos... Caesari traditurus*.—**Gloriemini per me licet**, *you may boast so far as I am concerned.* Supply *ut*.

21. Sed vide, etc. A vein of sarcasm and irony, commencing at this point, extends to line 7 on the next page. The satire in *constantiam* is heightened by the fact that Tubero had contrasted his own early abandonment of the cause of Pompey, with the persistent obstinacy of Ligarius in defending that cause.

22. Quamvis probarem, *however much I might approve it.*

25. Nescio an possim; G. 526, 2, 2).

26. Quotus quisque, *how many?* implying that the number is small.

27. A quibus partibus, ad eos ipsos; G. 445, 5.

28. Cum crudelitate. He was not even permitted to place his sick son on shore.

29. Cujusdam, *a*, lit. *a certain*.—**Ejus viri, quem**, *of a man whom*, or *of such a man as.* G. 402, I.

32. Ut cetera fuissent, *even if* (grant that) *other things had been.* G. 516, II. The Pluperfect has the same force here as in conditional sentences.

33. Quae nequaquam fuerunt. Tubero was far superior, not only in birth and station, but also in talent and culture. He belonged to the Aelian gens, which was of much higher rank than the Attian, to which Varus belonged.

34. Praecipuum, *special advantage*.—**Justo cum imperio**, *with a regular command*, i. e., with a command which had been regularly conferred upon him by the senate, though their action had not been ratified by the people.

102 **1. Aliquam**, *any other.*

4. Ista res; i. e., your treatment.—**Nihil commovisset**, etc. As Varus was not removed from the command.

6. In praesidiis, *within his lines*, i. e., on his side, indeed, but without participating in his cause.

7. An, ut fit, etc. We have here an anacoluthon. The question introduced by *an* is interrupted by the long parenthesis, *nec in... pacem cogitare*, after which the thought is resumed in the declarative form. The question would probably have been as follows: *an vincere volebatis?*

9. Tum sero. Cicero, on his return from Cilicia, found the Civil War virtually begun. See note on *diuturni silentii*, p. 84, line 1.

12. In eum locum, ubi, *into a position where*.—**Tibi esset... vicisses**; i. e., in your opinion. *Vicisses*, attracted from the Fut. Perf.

14. Hanc salutem; i. e., the security which we all now enjoy.—

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Illi victoriae, *to that victory;* i. e., to the victory which you then de- 102
sired.

X.—XII. *Appeal to Caesar's Clemency.*

15. Vos constantiae; G. 410, III.

19. Qui putetis, *since you think* — in thinking. G. 519.

21. Itaque, *then*, or *accordingly*. The connection of thought is as follows: In view of Caesar's willingness to forgive, as suggested by *ignoverit* in the line above, it is not necessary to *defend* Ligarius, but merely to *commend* him to *clemency*. This thought is, however, expressed interrogatively; *num tibi...occupatus?*—**Tibi**; i. e., to Caesar.—**In causa**, *in a legal defence*.

22. Ad unam summam, *to one principal point*.

23. Vel humanitatis vel, *whether we call it your humanity, or*, lit., *whether of your humanity, or*. On *vel, vel*, see G. 587, II. 2. *Humanitatis* is a Gen. of Specification. G. 396, V.

25. Te in foro tenuit. Caesar was for many years a prominent orator and advocate. At the early age of twenty-three, he distinguished himself in the prosecutions against Dolabella and other influential partisan leaders, for crimes committed under the administration of the Dictator Sulla.—**Ratio honorum**, *the pursuit of honors*. The profession of law and of oratory opened to ambitious Romans the most direct road to positions of honor and influence.

26. Non putavit; si unquam posthac, *he did not think, if ever hereafter*, i. e., if he should ever do it again; the language of a child pleading before his father in behalf of a brother.

28. Non cogitavit. Observe the difference in meaning between *non putavit*, he did not think, i. e., he did it without thinking (*thoughtlessly*), and *non cogitavit*, he had no thought of it, i. e., not only did not do it, but had no thought of doing it.

29. Dic...quaere, taceo; G. 535, 2. Cicero professes to make no defence before Caesar as a judge, but to appeal to him as a father.

31. Legatus ante bellum...tuus. A skilful enumeration of the very arguments in regard to which he had just remarked, *ne haec quidem colligo*.

32. Bello oppressus, *overtaken by the war;* i. e., by the Civil War.

36. Ignoscatur. Supply *ei*. G. 301, 1.

1. Arroganter. Supply *oro*.—**Plurimi**. Supply *impetraverunt*. 103

7. Causas...quam vultus; i. e., Caesar regards not so much the persons (*vultus*, faces) of the petitioners, as the grounds or reasons (*causas*) for the petition.

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103 **9. Quam illius,** *to what extent he was the friend of him.* Supply *necessarius.*

10. Itaque...quidem...tamen, *accordingly, though you do indeed give,* etc., *yet I see. Itaque* introduces the whole sentence, of which the leading member begins with *sed video,* while *tribuis tu quidem...concedas* is virtually a concessive clause.

14. Quorum...dolorem, *whose sorrow you see to be most genuine,* i. e., who are interceding in behalf of those whose wrongs and sufferings awaken genuine sympathy.

17. Hoc quod soles; i. e., *causas rogantium.*

18. Possum...Sabinos. Ligarius was himself of Sabine origin. The Sabines here mentioned are his relatives and friends present at the trial.

19. Totumque agrum Sabinum. This is only a rhetorical exaggeration. The Sabines were a valiant people dwelling in the highlands of Central Italy.

21. T. Brocchi. See note on *hoc T. Broccho,* p. 97, line 20.

22. Squalorem, *the mourning garb,* referring to the neglected and soiled garments worn in mourning.

29. Tua vox illa; explained in the next sentence, *te enim dicere,* etc.—**Quae vicit,** *which gained you the victory,* i. e., in the Civil War, implying that Caesar's success was due to his generous policy.

32. Tuos, *as your friends;* G. 441, 1.—**Hunc splendorem omnium**—*hos splendidos omnes. Splendor* and *splendidus* are the usual titles of honor in speaking of Roman knights; as *amplitudo, amplus,* and *amplissimus,* are applied to senators, and *honestus* to ordinary citizens.

34. L. Corfidium. By a strange oversight, Cicero inserted this name in preparing the oration for publication, although Corfidius died before the oration was delivered. He subsequently discovered his error, and attempted to have the name erased from every copy then in existence, but he did not succeed.—**Veste mutata**; i. e., in the garb of mourning.

36. Qui tecum fuerunt; i. e., had not joined Pompey in the Civil War.

104 **1. Conserva tuis suos,** *to your friends preserve their friends.* G. 449, 4. The connection of thought is this: The parties mentioned are your friends; Ligarius is their friend; therefore preserve him for them.

3. Hoc, *this;* i. e., Caesar's remark, quoted above, p. 103, line 31, *te omnes, qui contra te non essent, tuos putare.*

6. Potuisset; G. 532, 2, 1).

7. Fuerit futurus; Subjunctive after *quin.* G. 510, 2, 1).

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8. **Horum consensum...conflatum**, *their sentiments in harmony* 104 *and in almost perfect unison.*

9. **Prope aequalitate**—*prope aequalibus naturis.* Some critics make it refer to age, and take it in the sense of *prope aequali aetate.*

10. **Ut...sequerentur**; Subject of *futurum fuisse.* G. 495, 2; 551, I. 5.

12. **Tempestate...unus**, *one* (i. e., Quintus) *was carried away by the storm*, i. e., of war. The figure is that of a vessel driven from its course by the violence of the tempest.

13. **Consilio**, *designedly.*—**Eorum**; G. 399, 3, 2).

14. **Sed ierit**, *but he may have gone;* i. e., admit that he went.

17. **Qualis T. Ligarius...tuam.** Cicero probably refers to the service which Ligarius rendered Caesar in the year 56 B. C., when the latter obtained an appropriation for his Gallic campaigns. Cicero favored the appropriation; hence the significance of his remark, *quum tuis omnibus negotiis interessem.*—**Quaestor urbanus.** This officer had charge of the public treasury.

20. **Hoc**; i. e., *oblivisci nihil*, etc.—**Animi, ingenii.** Here *animi* refers to Caesar's kind feelings, and *ingenii* to his good judgment.

21. **Te**; repeated from line 19 above.—**De aliis...quaestoribus**; referring probably to *quaestors* who had been less obliging than Ligarius.

23. **Nihil egit aliud**, *had no other object.*—**Haec**; i. e., the present state of affairs.

25. **Quam.** This refers to *salutem*, and is the object of *dederis.*—**Hujus**; construe with *officio.* It refers to *T. Ligarius.*

26. **Utrisque his**, *to these two parties*, i. e., to Quintus Ligarius the exile, on the one hand, and to his two brothers on the other.

29. **Condonaveris**, *you will have presented*, i. e., restored.

30. **Fac idem**, *do the same.*—**De**, *in the case of.*—**Homine nobilissimo**; i. e., Marcus Marcellus, recently pardoned by Caesar. See the preceding oration, p. 84.

1. **Populare**, *acceptable to the people.*—**Nulla de**, *no one of.*— 105 **Nulla, nec, nec**; G. 585, 2.

5. **Ut possis**, *your ability*, lit., *that you may be able.*

8. **Te ipsum loqui tecum**; i. e., that you should reflect upon the subject.

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ORATION FOR KING DEIOTARUS,

DELIVERED BEFORE CAESAR, IN HIS OWN HOUSE, IN THE YEAR 45 B. C.

INTRODUCTION.

Deiotarus, in whose defence this oration was delivered, was tetrarch of Galatia, in Asia Minor. In the Mithridatic War he supported the Roman cause so warmly that the senate, in recognition of his services, added Armenia Minor to his dominions, and conferred upon him the title of king. In the Civil War he espoused the cause of Pompey, and was present with him in the disastrous battle of Pharsalia; but soon after that defeat he returned to Galatia, and at once availed himself of every means in his power to effect a reconciliation with Caesar. Accordingly, at the close of the African War, when that victorious commander, already sole master of Rome, appeared in Asia, Deiotarus, divesting himself of his royal robes, and assuming the garb of a suppliant, presented himself before him and implored pardon for the part which he had taken in the Civil War. Caesar not only granted his petition, but also restored to him his kingly title and his royal robes.

In the year 45 B. C., Deiotarus was accused by his own grandson, Castor, of having, two years before, formed the design of assassinating Caesar, who was at that time his guest. The accuser, moreover, alleged that his grandfather had, from the first, been at heart the foe of the Dictator, and that he had shown his hostility on several occasions. Deiotarus at once sent an embassy to Rome to reply to these charges. Phidippus, his physician and slave, accompanied the embassy, but was finally won over by Castor, and joined in the accusation. The case was tried before

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Caesar himself, in his own house. Cicero undertook the defence, and pronounced the oration now before us. The result of the trial is not known. It is probable that no decision was made.

ANALYSIS.

I. Introduction. I., II.
II. The Hopes of the Accusers. III.—V.
III. Refutation of the Charges. VI.—XII.
IV. Conclusion. XIII.—XV.

I., II. *Introduction. Cicero calls Attention to the Difficulties under which he speaks.*

PAGE

1. Quum...tum, *while...especially.* Here *quum* involves *concession*, as well as *time;* hence the Subjunctive *soleam.* 106

3. Aetas. Cicero was in his sixty-second year.

4. Fides, *fidelity*, i. e., fidelity to his client.

10. Pro perpetuis ejus...meritis. See Introduction, p. 282.

12. Alterius, alterius. The former refers to Castor, the latter to Phidippus. See Introduction.

13. Crudelem Castorem; G. 381.

15. Adolescentiae...intulerit, *in his youth has occasioned terror.* In Rome ambitious young men often sought to bring themselves into notice by prosecuting magistrates and prominent citizens.

19. A legatorum pedibus, *from the service of the ambassadors.* The reference is to the ambassadors whom Deiotarus sent to Rome to look after the defence. Phidippus accompanied them, but he finally yielded to the solicitations of Castor, and testified against his master.—**Fugitivi.** Phidippus is so called because he deserted the cause of his master.

1. Regiam = *regis.* 107

2. De fortunis...extimescebam. Cicero intimates his alarm for the public safety, if slaves should be allowed to testify against their masters.

3. Ne tormentis quidem, *not even by torture.* Though the rack was supposed to be very effective in eliciting truth, yet a slave could not even upon the rack testify against his master.

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107 **7. Solutus**, *voluntarily*, lit., *free, without compulsion*, in contrast with *in oculio*.

8. Illud; explained in the next sentence.

12. Arguare. The second person is often thus used of an indefinite subject, *you*, i. e., any one, one. Lat. Comp. 500, I.

17. De te ceteros...judicare. Cicero thus delicately reminds the Dictator that even he cannot disregard public opinion.

18. In disceptatione versata est, *has been tried.*

26. Eodem...te. Cicero adds this to show Caesar that he does not object to the judge.

31. Deorum, populi, senatus. These words correspond in an inverse order to *curiam, forum, caelum.*

34. Quae angustiora faciunt, *restrict these things*, i. e., restrict me in these respects.

35. Qui pro multis saepe dixisti. It will be remembered that Caesar was himself for many years an advocate in the Roman courts. See note on *te in foro tenuit*, p. 102, line 25. Observe the combination *pro multis saepe*, on many occasions, and in behalf of many persons, but not in behalf of many persons at any one time.

36. Ad te ipsum referre, *to judge from yourself*, lit., *to refer to yourself.*

III.—V. *The Hopes of the Accusers. The Conduct of Deiotarus during the Civil War.*

108 **8. Affectum illum...detrimentis.** In settling affairs at the close of his brilliant campaign in Asia, Caesar deprived Deiotarus of Armenia Minor and a portion of his other possessions.

16. Deiotaro hospes hospiti, *a guest to Deiotarus, your host.* At the close of his campaign in Asia, Caesar was for a short time the guest of Deiotarus.

17. Non tam in...quam firmiorem, *not so sure* (trustworthy) *in ...as.* The form of the expression is a very unusual one, resulting, perhaps, from a combination of *non tam firmam quam*, and *non firmiorem quam.*

21. Semel, *once for all;* explained by *nemo unquam te...senserit.*

25. Officio parum functum, *who had not properly discharged his duty.*

27. Cui tamen ipsi rei, *and yet for this very thing.*

28. Ipse aetatis...esset, *but had himself presented the excuse of age;* i. e., had availed himself of this excuse for not joining Pompey in person.

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30. Amicitiae culpam, *neglect of friendship*, i. e., remissness in 108
the discharge of its duties.

33. Errore communi lapsus est. Cicero says Deiotarus only made the mistake which so many others made.

1. Est perturbatus, *was embarrassed;* hence *misled.* 109

4. Nobis imperatoribus. Cicero, it will be remembered, had the title of *Imperator.* See note on *alterum*, p. 96, line 19.

9. Ut audivit consules...effusam. This is the exaggerated report which, according to Cicero, reached Deiotarus after the opening of the Civil War; but perhaps the report contained almost as much fact as fiction. The whole senatorial party, panic-stricken, had fled from Italy, and joined Pompey in Greece.

13. Ulli veri. Supply *nuntii et rumores.*—**De condicionibus.** This refers to the terms of settlement which Caesar proposed in the hope of averting the Civil War.

15. Certorum hominum. The most prominent were C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus, the consuls, and P. Scipio, M. Cato, L. Domitius, and M. Bibulus.

16. Usque eo, quoad, *even until.*

21. Tu ipse...maxima. Caesar procured the ratification of Pompey's acts in Asia.

25. Populi Romani, *conferred by the Roman people;* Subjective Genitive.

35. Fugientem. Pompey fled to Greece when Caesar crossed the Rubicon and advanced upon Rome.

36. Pharsalico proelio. This was the celebrated battle of Pharsalus, or Pharsalia, in which Pompey was utterly defeated on the ninth of August, 48 B. C.

2. Errori, si quid...factum esse, *that he had gone far enough in* 110
error, if he had acted ignorantly.

4. Alexandrinum bellum. Caesar having pursued Pompey into Egypt, espoused the cause of Cleopatra against her brother Ptolemy, and thus became involved in a war with the Alexandrians.

5. Cn. Domitii. Cn. Domitius Calvinus, who was then commanding in Asia for Caesar.

6. Ephesum, *to Ephesus*, a celebrated city of Ionia.—**Eum.** It is not known to whom Cicero refers.

9. Qua uterere, *for you to use.* G. 500.

10. Pharnacem. Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, was King of the Bosporus.

15. Domi suae; G. 423, 3, 2).

17. Cujus tanti sceleris fuerit, *what a great crime it would have*

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110 *born!* G. 402, I.; 525. In the Direct Discourse, *fuerit* would have been *fuit* as in line 24 below. G. 475, 4, 1).

22. In eo tyrannum inveniri, *to be found a tyrant in the case of him.*

27. Cum regno distractus esset, *would have been involved in strife with his realm.*

28. Non modo, *not to say.*

VI., VII. *Reply to the Specific Charge that Deiotarus had designed to assassinate Caesar.*

30. Credo. Ironical.

111 **1. Nec in...caderet**, *could be committed neither by;* more literally, *could occur neither to.*

4. Confingitis. This is addressed to the accusers.

5. At quam...quidem. Supply *confingitis.*—**Suspiciose**, *in a manner to awaken suspicion*, i. e., against Deiotarus.

6. Inquit. The subject is the omitted pronoun referring to Phidippus. See Introduction, p. 282.—**Castellum Peium.** One of the castles of Deiotarus.

9. Priusquam accumberes, *before you dined.* See note on *accubantes*, p. 16, line 31.

13. Phidippum...corruptum. This is in apposition with *causa*, which may be here rendered *fact* or *report.* It is called *causa* rather than *res*, because it forms an element in the *case* (causa).

14. Isto adolescente. Castor.

17. A consuetudine criminandi, *from the usual accusation;* i. e., the charge of poisoning was not uncommon.

18. Res, *the thing*, i. e., Cicero's conjecture.

23. Hospitalis, *the god of hospitality.*

27. De armis celare te; G. 374, 3, 1).

30. Inspicere. Supply *munera*, implied in *quibus te rex munerare constituerat.* See line 8 above.

32. Dimisit exercitum. Cicero adopts this expression to ridicule the absurd charge.

34. Itaque fecisti, *and you did so.*

36. Quum in convivio...fuisses, *when you had feasted affably and jovially.*—**Isti**; for *ivisti.*

112 **2. Attalus.** Attalus III., King of Pergamus. Livy makes a similar statement in regard to Antiochus, King of Syria. Cicero may have mistaken the name.—**P. Africanum.** See note on *alter Africanus*, p. 46, line 13.

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10. Num quid. Supply *factum est.*—**Ex disciplina,** *in accordance with the usage.* 112

16. Acta res criminose est, *the thing done furnishes matter for an accusation;* Ironical.—**Vomere.** With epicures, this was the usual method of avoiding the effects of an imprudent gratification of the appetite.

19. Perduint; G. 239, 3.—**Fugitive.** Phidippus is meant.

24. Ille, *he,* i. e., Deiotarus.

26. Mitteret. Supply *ut eum.*

VIII.—XII. *Reply to the other Allegations against Deiotarus.*

34. In speculis, *on the watch.*—**Animo alieno**; G. 428.

4. Antea; i. e., before Caesar deprived him of a part of his realm. 113

5. Misit, *attempted to send.*—**Caecilium nescio quem,** *one Caecilius.* Q. Caecilius Bassus, a partisan of Pompey, is meant.

11. Causam illam, *that cause,* i. e., the cause of Pompey.

14. Addit. Castor adds, as a separate charge, that Deiotarus, when he aided Caesar against Pharnaces, did not send his best cavalry.

21. Alexandriae. Alexandria was the capital of Egypt.

23. Ei quem...praefeceras. Cn. Domitius. See note on the same, p. 110, line 5.

24. Ad periculum, etc. This refers to the expedition against Pharnaces.

25. Secutum...Africanum. This war, which began 47 B. C., was brought to a close by Caesar's victory at Thapsus, on the sixth of April of the following year.

30. Nicaeam Ephesumque, *to Nicaea and Ephesus;* the former a city in Bithynia, the latter in Ionia.

32. Domitium. Cn. Domitius, mentioned in line 23 as *quem Asiae praefeceras.* The report that he had perished at sea was false.—**Te in castello circumsederi.** In the winter of 47 and 46 B. C., Caesar was obliged to intrench himself, and to act only on the defensive.

33. Eadem sententia; Abl. of Characteristic; so also *qua.*

35. Pereant, etc. The authorship both of the original Greek and of the Latin version is unknown.—**Amici.** In the application of this verse, *amici* refers to Domitius, and *inimici* to Caesar.

1. Qui; G. 188, 3. 114

6. Furcifer, *the culprit,* i. e., Phidippus. Slaves were often compelled to bear upon their necks the *furca,* an instrument of punishment in the form of the letter V.

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114 7. **Vino se obruisse**, *surfeited himself with wine.*

8. **Nudum**, *in his tunic*, i. e., having thrown off his outer garment. For the host, or for any of his guests, thus to dance at a feast, was at least exceedingly undignified.

14. **Fortem**, etc. Supply *dici.*

20. **Equitibus Romanis.** The equestrian order, it will be remembered, included the bankers, the merchants, the farmers of the revenue, and, in fine, the business men of the Roman world.

22. **Regium nomen**, *the title of king.*

23. **Quidquid a...vacabat**, *when he was not occupied in.* G. 378.

24. **Res rationesque** — rerum rationes, *business relations.*

25. **Tetrarches**, *tetrarch*, his official title before the Romans made him king.

27. **Qui.** The antecedent is the pronoun *is.*—**Adolescens**; G. 363, 3.

34. **Illam aetatem**, *his advanced age.*—**Quibus studiis, ea** = *ea studia quibus.*

36. **Ut uteretur.** *Utendi* might have been used.

115 3. **Adolescens.** Castor. Cicero here takes occasion to rally him a little for his ostentatious display of skill in horsemanship. He served under Cicero when the latter was Proconsul of Cilicia, in Asia Minor.

4. **Commilito.** Cicero and Castor were both with Pompey in Greece.

6. **Pater.** The father was Castor Saocondarius, who had married the daughter of Deiotarus.—**Quos concursus**, *what crowds*, i. e., of spectators.

13. **Ista domus**, *that family of yours*, addressed to Castor.

19. **Sint inimicitiae**, *grant that there is enmity*, i. e., between yourself and Deiotarus.

21. **Antea**; construe with *quam.*

24. **Gerere poteratis, non**, *you might have conducted, and not.*

26. **Adeone, ut**, *is it, moreover, to be conceded that.* Supply *concedatur.*

29. **Domum**, *to your house.* G. 379, 3, 1).

32. **A tanta auctoritate**, *by so high authority*, i. e., by Caesar.

34. **Id, quod intus est.** Cicero refers thus contemptuously to the slave Phidippus.

35. **Fit in dominatu**, etc., *the slave becomes the master, the master the slave.*

116 1. **Cn. Domitius.** Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, tribune of the people 104 B. C., consul 96 B. C.

3. **M. Scaurum.** M. Scaurus Aemilius, consul 115 B. C.—**In ju-**

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dicium populi, *to trial before the people.* Scaurus was accused of having neglected certain religious rites. 116

6. Ad Scaurumque; G. 602, III. 4.

12. At, *but, it may be said.*—**Semel**, *only once.*—**Esset productus**, *he had been brought forward*, i. e., as a witness.

14. Cn. Domitium. Cn. Domitius Calvinus, already mentioned. See p. 110, line 5. *Hunc* implies that he is present at the trial.—**Ser. Sulpicio.** Servius Sulpicius Rufus, one of the most learned jurists of the age.

16. T. Torquato. Who this young man was is not known.

20. Domestica immanitate, *with the ferocity characteristic of your own home*, i. e., of a barbarian land in contrast with Rome (*nostrae civitatis*).

22. Quam acute, etc. This is addressed to Caesar. Notice the irony.—**Blesamius.** One of the ambassadors of Deiotarus.

25. Statua inter reges posita. By the decree of the senate, Caesar's statue was placed among those of the seven kings of Rome.

26. Plaudi tibi; G. 301, 1.

29. Multorum enim, etc. Ironical.

4. Si locus affert invidiam...clarior. Here Cicero touches 117
the real objection, but answers it only in part. The objection was not so much to the statue itself, or to its conspicuous position, as to the fact that it stood among the statues of the kings (*inter reges*). Caesar had two statues also upon the Rostra.

XIII.—XV. *Conclusion.*

16. Multatum. Caesar had taken some of the possessions of Deiotarus and given them to his own followers.

17. Multis tibi...tribuenda; i. e., that you must reward your numerous followers. *Multis*, Indirect Object; *tibi*, Dative of Agent.

19. Antiochus. Antiochus III., surnamed the Great. He reigned from 223 to 187 B. C.—**Rex Asiae.** This was his title before he was conquered, 190 B. C., by Scipio, and deprived of his possessions west of Mount Taurus. He was afterwards called King of Syria.

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12. Exquire de Blesamio, *ascertain in regard to Blesamius.* See p. 116, lines 22 to 28.

26. Alterum, alterum, *the one*, i. e., sententiam...pestem importaturam esse regibus, *the other*, i. e., sententiam...famam cum salute importaturam, etc.—**Illorum**, *of those men*, i. e., of the accusers, Castor and Phidippus.

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THE FIRST PHILIPPIC,

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INTRODUCTION.

CAESAR was assassinated on the fifteenth of March, in the year 44 B. C. Mark Antony, his colleague in the consulship, at once sought safety in concealment, while the conspirators, but feebly supported by the people, fled to the capitol for shelter. For a time, general consternation prevailed, but a compromise was speedily effected. On the seventeenth of March the senate decreed a general amnesty, appointed a public funeral for Caesar, and confirmed all his acts. Quiet was happily restored, but it was destined to be of short duration. The funeral oration pronounced by Antony over the body of Caesar, so wrought upon the feelings of the people that, refusing to allow the remains to be removed to the Campus Martius, they proceeded to burn them with funeral honors in the Forum itself. The wildest excitement prevailed; party spirit was again aroused. Antony, not yet prepared to defy the senate, adopted conciliatory measures, and even proposed the abolition of the dictatorship. In the mean time, he was carefully maturing his ambitious designs. He was already in possession of Caesar's papers, and, professing to carry out the measures which he found in them, he began to remit taxes, distribute honors, and recall exiles. In all this he was supported by his colleague, P. Cornelius Dolabella, who had succeeded to the consulship made vacant by the death of Caesar.

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DEIOTARUS, in whose defence this oration was delivered, was tetrarch of Galatia, in Asia Minor. In the Mithridatic War he supported the Roman cause so warmly that the senate, in recognition of his services, added Armenia Minor to his dominions, and conferred upon him the title of king. In the Civil War he espoused the cause of Pompey, and was present with him in the disastrous battle of Pharsalia; but soon after that defeat he returned to Galatia, and at once availed himself of every means in his power to effect a reconciliation with Caesar. Accordingly, at the close of the African War, when that victorious commander, already sole master of Rome, appeared in Asia, Deiotarus, divesting himself of his royal robes, and assuming the garb of a suppliant, presented himself before him and implored pardon for the part which he had taken in the Civil War. Caesar not only granted his petition, but also restored to him his kingly title and his royal robes.

In the year 45 B. C., Deiotarus was accused by his own grandson, Castor, of having, two years before, formed the design of assassinating Caesar, who was at that time his guest. The accuser, moreover, alleged that his grandfather had, from the first, been at heart the foe of the Dictator, and that he had shown his hostility on several occasions. Deiotarus at once sent an embassy to Rome to reply to these charges. Phidippus, his physician and slave, accompanied the embassy, but was finally won over by Castor, and joined in the accusation. The case was tried before

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as well as *time;* hence the Subjunctive *soleam.*

3. Aetas. Cicero was in his sixty-second year.

4. Fides, *fidelity,* i. e., fidelity to his client.

10. Pro perpetuis ejus...meritis. See Introduction, p. 282.

12. Alterius, alterius. The former refers to Castor, the latter to Phidippus. See Introduction.

13. Crudelem Castorem; G. 381.

15. Adolescentiae...intulerit, *in his youth has occasioned terror.* In Rome ambitious young men often sought to bring themselves into notice by prosecuting magistrates and prominent citizens.

19. A legatorum pedibus, *from the service of the ambassadors.* The reference is to the ambassadors whom Deiotarus sent to Rome to look after the defence. Phidippus accompanied them, but he finally yielded to the solicitations of Castor, and testified against his master.—**Fugitivi.** Phidippus is so called because he deserted the cause of his master.

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2. De fortunis...extimescebam. Cicero intimates his alarm for the public safety, if slaves should be allowed to testify against their masters.

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107 **7. Solutus**, *voluntarily*, lit., *free, without compulsion*, in contrast with *in oculio*.

8. Illud; explained in the next sentence.

12. Arguare. The second person is often thus used of an indefinite subject, *you*, i. e., any one, one. Lat. Comp. 500, I.

17. De te ceteros...judicare. Cicero thus delicately reminds the Dictator that even he cannot disregard public opinion.

18. In disceptatione versata est, *has been tried*.

26. Eodem...te. Cicero adds this to show Caesar that he does not object to the judge.

31. Deorum, populi, senatus. These words correspond in an inverse order to *curiam, forum, caelum*.

34. Quae angustiora faciunt, *restrict these things*, i. e., restrict me in these respects.

35. Qui pro multis saepe dixisti. It will be remembered that Caesar was himself for many years an advocate in the Roman courts. See note on *te in foro tenuit*, p. 102, line 25. Observe the combination *pro multis saepe*, on many occasions, and in behalf of many persons, but not in behalf of many persons at any one time.

36. Ad te ipsum referre, *to judge from yourself*, lit., *to refer to yourself*.

III.—V. *The Hopes of the Accusers. The Conduct of Deiotarus during the Civil War.*

108 **8. Affectum illum...detrimentis**. In settling affairs at the close of his brilliant campaign in Asia, Caesar deprived Deiotarus of Armenia Minor and a portion of his other possessions.

16. Deiotaro hospes hospiti, *a guest to Deiotarus, your host*. At the close of his campaign in Asia, Caesar was for a short time the guest of Deiotarus.

17. Non tam in...quam firmiorem, *not so sure* (trustworthy) *in ...as*. The form of the expression is a very unusual one, resulting, perhaps, from a combination of *non tam firmam quam*, and *non firmiorem quam*.

21. Semel, *once for all*; explained by *nemo unquam te...senserit*.

25. Officio parum functum, *who had not properly discharged his duty*.

27. Cui tamen ipsi rei, *and yet for this very thing*.

28. Ipse aetatis...esset, *but had himself presented the excuse of age*; i. e., had availed himself of this excuse for not joining Pompey in person.

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30. Amicitiae culpam, *neglect of friendship*, i. e., remissness in 108
the discharge of its duties.

33. Errore communi lapsus est. Cicero says Deiotarus only made the mistake which so many others made.

1. Est perturbatus, *was embarrassed;* hence *misled.* 109

4. Nobis imperatoribus. Cicero, it will be remembered, had the title of *Imperator.* See note on *alterum*, p. 96, line 19.

9. Ut audivit consules...effusam. This is the exaggerated report which, according to Cicero, reached Deiotarus after the opening of the Civil War; but perhaps the report contained almost as much fact as fiction. The whole senatorial party, panic-stricken, had fled from Italy, and joined Pompey in Greece.

13. Ulli veri. Supply *nuntii et rumores.*—**De condicionibus.** This refers to the terms of settlement which Caesar proposed in the hope of averting the Civil War.

15. Certorum hominum. The most prominent were C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus, the consuls, and P. Scipio, M. Cato, L. Domitius, and M. Bibulus.

16. Usque eo, quoad, *even until.*

21. Tu ipse...maxima. Caesar procured the ratification of Pompey's acts in Asia.

25. Populi Romani, *conferred by the Roman people;* Subjective Genitive.

35. Fugientem. Pompey fled to Greece when Caesar crossed the Rubicon and advanced upon Rome.

36. Pharsalico proelio. This was the celebrated battle of Pharsalus, or Pharsalia, in which Pompey was utterly defeated on the ninth of August, 48 B. C.

2. Errori, si quid...factum esse, *that he had gone far enough in* 110
error, if he had acted ignorantly.

4. Alexandrinum bellum. Caesar having pursued Pompey into Egypt, espoused the cause of Cleopatra against her brother Ptolemy, and thus became involved in a war with the Alexandrians.

5. Cn. Domitii. Cn. Domitius Calvinus, who was then commanding in Asia for Caesar.

6. Ephesum, *to Ephesus*, a celebrated city of Ionia.—**Eum.** It is not known to whom Cicero refers.

9. Qua uterere, *for you to use.* G. 500.

10. Pharnacem. Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, was King of the Bosporus.

15. Domi suae; G. 423, 3, 2).

17. Cujus tanti sceleris fuerit, *what a great crime it would have*

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110 *been!* G. 402, I.; 525. In the Direct Discourse, *fuerit* would have been *fuit* as in line 24 below. G. 475, 4, 1).

22. In eo tyrannum inveniri, *to be found a tyrant in the case of him.*

27. Cum regno distractus esset, *would have been involved in strife with his realm.*

28. Non modo, *not to say.*

VI., VII. *Reply to the Specific Charge that Deiotarus had designed to assassinate Caesar.*

30. Credo. Ironical.

111 **1. Nec in...caderet,** *could be committed neither by;* more literally, *could occur neither to.*

4. Confingitis. This is addressed to the accusers.

5. At quam...quidem. Supply *confingitis.*—**Suspiciose,** *in a manner to awaken suspicion,* i. e., against Deiotarus.

6. Inquit. The subject is the omitted pronoun referring to Phidippus. See Introduction, p. 282.—**Castellum Peium.** One of the castles of Deiotarus.

9. Priusquam accumberes, *before you dined.* See note on *accubantes,* p. 16, line 31.

13. Phidippum...corruptum. This is in apposition with *causa,* which may be here rendered *fact* or *report.* It is called *causa* rather than *res,* because it forms an element in the *case* (causa).

14. Isto adolescente. Castor.

17. A consuetudine criminandi, *from the usual accusation;* i. e., the charge of poisoning was not uncommon.

18. Res, *the thing,* i. e., Cicero's conjecture.

23. Hospitalis, *the god of hospitality.*

27. De armis celare te; G. 374, 3, 1).

30. Inspicere. Supply *munera,* implied in *quibus te rex munerare constituerat.* See line 8 above.

32. Dimisit exercitum. Cicero adopts this expression to ridicule the absurd charge.

34. Itaque fecisti, *and you did so.*

36. Quum in convivio...fuisses, *when you had feasted affably and jovially.*—**Isti**; for *ivisti.*

112 **2. Attalus.** Attalus III., King of Pergamus. Livy makes a similar statement in regard to Antiochus, King of Syria. Cicero may have mistaken the name.—**P. Africanum.** See note on *alter Africanus,* p. 46, line 13.

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10. Num quid. Supply *factum est.*—**Ex disciplina,** *in accordance with the usage.* 112

16. Acta res criminose est, *the thing done furnishes matter for an accusation;* Ironical.—**Vomere.** With epicures, this was the usual method of avoiding the effects of an imprudent gratification of the appetite.

19. Perduint; G. 239, 3.—**Fugitive.** Phidippus is meant.

24. Ille, *he,* i. e., Deiotarus.

26. Mitteret. Supply *ut eum.*

VIII.—XII. *Reply to the other Allegations against Deiotarus.*

34. In speculis, *on the watch.*—**Animo alieno**; G. 428.

4. Antea; i. e., before Caesar deprived him of a part of his realm. 113

5. Misit, *attempted to send.*—**Caecilium nescio quem,** *one Caecilius.* Q. Caecilius Bassus, a partisan of Pompey, is meant.

11. Causam illam, *that cause,* i. e., the cause of Pompey.

14. Addit. Castor adds, as a separate charge, that Deiotarus, when he aided Caesar against Pharnaces, did not send his best cavalry.

21. Alexandriae. Alexandria was the capital of Egypt.

23. Ei quem...praefeceras. Cn. Domitius. See note on the same, p. 110, line 5.

24. Ad periculum, etc. This refers to the expedition against Pharnaces.

25. Secutum...Africanum. This war, which began 47 B. C., was brought to a close by Caesar's victory at Thapsus, on the sixth of April of the following year.

30. Nicaeam Ephesumque, *to Nicaea and Ephesus;* the former a city in Bithynia, the latter in Ionia.

32. Domitium. Cn. Domitius, mentioned in line 23 as *quem Asiae praefecerat.* The report that he had perished at sea was false.—**Te in castello circumsederi.** In the winter of 47 and 46 B. C., Caesar was obliged to intrench himself, and to act only on the defensive.

33. Eadem sententia; Abl. of Characteristic; so also *qua.*

35. Pereant, etc. The authorship both of the original Greek and of the Latin version is unknown.—**Amici.** In the application of this verse, *amici* refers to Domitius, and *inimici* to Caesar.

1. Qui; G. 188, 3. 114

6. Furcifer, *the culprit,* i. e., Phidippus. Slaves were often compelled to bear upon their necks the *furca,* an instrument of punishment in the form of the letter V.

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114 **7. Vino se obruisse,** *surfeited himself with wine.*

8. Nudum, *in his tunic*, i. e., having thrown off his outer garment. For the host, or for any of his guests, thus to dance at a feast, was at least exceedingly undignified.

14. Fortem, etc. Supply *dici.*

20. Equitibus Romanis. The equestrian order, it will be remembered, included the bankers, the merchants, the farmers of the revenue, and, in fine, the business men of the Roman world.

22. Regium nomen, *the title of king.*

23. Quidquid a...vacabat, *when he was not occupied in.* G. 378.

24. Res rationesque — rerum rationes, *business relations.*

25. Tetrarches, *tetrarch*, his official title before the Romans made him king.

27. Qui. The antecedent is the pronoun *is.*—**Adolescens**; G. 363, 3.

34. Illam aetatem, *his advanced age.*—**Quibus studiis, ea** = *ea studia quibus.*

36. Ut uteretur. *Utendi* might have been used.

115 **3. Adolescens.** Castor. Cicero here takes occasion to rally him a little for his ostentatious display of skill in horsemanship. He served under Cicero when the latter was Proconsul of Cilicia, in Asia Minor.

4. Commilito. Cicero and Castor were both with Pompey in Greece.

6. Pater. The father was Castor Saocondarius, who had married the daughter of Deiotarus.—**Quos concursus,** *what crowds*, i. e., of spectators.

13. Ista domus, *that family of yours*, addressed to Castor.

19. Sint inimicitiae, *grant that there is enmity*, i. e., between yourself and Deiotarus.

21. Antea; construe with *quam.*

24. Gerere poteratis, non, *you might have conducted, and not.*

26. Adeone, ut, *is it, moreover, to be conceded that.* Supply *concedatur.*

29. Domum, *to your house.* G. 379, 3, 1).

32. A tanta auctoritate, *by so high authority*, i. e., by Caesar.

34. Id, quod intus est. Cicero refers thus contemptuously to the slave Phidippus.

35. Fit in dominatu, etc., *the slave becomes the master, the master the slave.*

116 **1. Cn. Domitius.** Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, tribune of the people 104 B. C., consul 96 B. C.

3. M. Scaurum. M. Scaurus Aemilius, consul 115 B. C.—**In ju-**

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dicium populi, *to trial before the people.* Scaurus was accused of having neglected certain religious rites. 116

6. Ad Scaurumque; G. 602, III. 4.

12. At, *but, it may be said.*—**Semel**, *only once.*—**Esset productus**, *he had been brought forward*, i. e., as a witness.

14. Cn. Domitium. Cn. Domitius Calvinus, already mentioned. See p. 110, line 5. *Hunc* implies that he is present at the trial.—**Ser. Sulpicio.** Servius Sulpicius Rufus, one of the most learned jurists of the age.

16. T. Torquato. Who this young man was is not known.

20. Domestica immanitate, *with the ferocity characteristic of your own home*, i. e., of a barbarian land in contrast with Rome (*nostrae civitatis*).

22. Quam acute, etc. This is addressed to Caesar. Notice the irony.—**Blesamius.** One of the ambassadors of Deiotarus.

25. Statua inter reges posita. By the decree of the senate, Caesar's statue was placed among those of the seven kings of Rome.

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4. Antea; i. e., before Caesar deprived him of a part of his realm. 113

5. Misit, *attempted to send.*—**Caecilium nescio quem,** *one Caecilius.* Q. Caecilius Bassus, a partisan of Pompey, is meant.

11. Causam illam, *that cause,* i. e., the cause of Pompey.

14. Addit. Castor adds, as a separate charge, that Deiotarus, when he aided Caesar against Pharnaces, did not send his best cavalry.

21. Alexandriae. Alexandria was the capital of Egypt.

23. Ei quem...praefeceras. Cn. Domitius. See note on the same, p. 110, line 5.

24. Ad periculum, etc. This refers to the expedition against Pharnaces.

25. Secutum...Africanum. This war, which began 47 B. C., was brought to a close by Caesar's victory at Thapsus, on the sixth of April of the following year.

30. Nicaeam Ephesumque, *to Nicaea and Ephesus;* the former a city in Bithynia, the latter in Ionia.

32. Domitium. Cn. Domitius, mentioned in line 23 as *quem Asiae praefeceras.* The report that he had perished at sea was false.—**Te in castello circumsederi.** In the winter of 47 and 46 B. C., Caesar was obliged to intrench himself, and to act only on the defensive.

33. Eadem sententia; Abl. of Characteristic; so also *qua.*

35. Pereant, etc. The authorship both of the original Greek and of the Latin version is unknown.—**Amici.** In the application of this verse, *amici* refers to Domitius, and *inimici* to Caesar.

1. Qui; G. 188, 3. 114

6. Furcifer, *the culprit,* i. e., Phidippus. Slaves were often compelled to bear upon their necks the *furca,* an instrument of punishment in the form of the letter V.

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114 **7. Vino se obruisse**, *surfeited himself with wine.*

8. Nudum, *in his tunic*, i. e., having thrown off his outer garment. For the host, or for any of his guests, thus to dance at a feast, was at least exceedingly undignified.

14. Fortem, etc. Supply *dici.*

20. Equitibus Romanis. The equestrian order, it will be remembered, included the bankers, the merchants, the farmers of the revenue, and, in fine, the business men of the Roman world.

22. Regium nomen, *the title of king.*

23. Quidquid a...vacabat, *when he was not occupied in.* G. 378.

24. Res rationesque — rerum rationes, *business relations.*

25. Tetrarches, *tetrarch*, his official title before the Romans made him king.

27. Qui. The antecedent is the pronoun *is.*—**Adolescens**; G. 363, 3.

34. Illam aetatem, *his advanced age.*—**Quibus studiis, ea** = *ea studia quibus.*

36. Ut uteretur. *Utendi* might have been used.

115 **3. Adolescens.** Castor. Cicero here takes occasion to rally him a little for his ostentatious display of skill in horsemanship. He served under Cicero when the latter was Proconsul of Cilicia, in Asia Minor.

4. Commilito. Cicero and Castor were both with Pompey in Greece.

6. Pater. The father was Castor Saocondarius, who had married the daughter of Deiotarus.—**Quos concursus**, *what crowds*, i. e., of spectators.

13. Ista domus, *that family of yours*, addressed to Castor.

19. Sint inimicitiae, *grant that there is enmity*, i. e., between yourself and Deiotarus.

21. Antea; construe with *quam.*

24. Gerere poteratis, non, *you might have conducted, and not.*

26. Adeone, ut, *is it, moreover, to be conceded that.* Supply *concedatur.*

29. Domum, *to your house.* G. 379, 3, 1).

32. A tanta auctoritate, *by so high authority*, i. e., by Caesar.

34. Id, quod intus est. Cicero refers thus contemptuously to the slave Phidippus.

35. Fit in dominatu, etc., *the slave becomes the master, the master the slave.*

116 **1. Cn. Domitius.** Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, tribune of the people 104 B. C., consul 96 B. C.

3. M. Scaurum. M. Scaurus Aemilius, consul 115 B. C.—**In ju-**

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dicium populi, *to trial before the people.* Scaurus was accused of having neglected certain religious rites. 116

6. Ad Scaurumque; G. 602, III. 4.

12. At, *but, it may be said.*—**Semel**, *only once.*—**Esset productus**, *he had been brought forward*, i. e., as a witness.

14. Cn. Domitium. Cn. Domitius Calvinus, already mentioned. See p. 110, line 5. *Hunc* implies that he is present at the trial.—**Ser. Sulpicio.** Servius Sulpicius Rufus, one of the most learned jurists of the age.

16. T. Torquato. Who this young man was is not known.

20. Domestica immanitate, *with the ferocity characteristic of your own home*, i. e., of a barbarian land in contrast with Rome (*nostrae civitatis*).

22. Quam acute, etc. This is addressed to Caesar. Notice the irony.—**Blesamius.** One of the ambassadors of Deiotarus.

25. Statua inter reges posita. By the decree of the senate, Caesar's statue was placed among those of the seven kings of Rome.

26. Plaudi tibi; G. 301, 1.

29. Multorum enim, etc. Ironical.

4. Si locus affert invidiam...clarior. Here Cicero touches 117
the real objection, but answers it only in part. The objection was not so much to the statue itself, or to its conspicuous position, as to the fact that it stood among the statues of the kings (*inter reges*). Caesar had two statues also upon the Rostra.

XIII.—XV. *Conclusion.*

16. Multatum. Caesar had taken some of the possessions of Deiotarus and given them to his own followers.

17. Multis tibi...tribuenda; i. e., that you must reward your numerous followers. *Multis*, Indirect Object; *tibi*, Dative of Agent.

19. Antiochus. Antiochus III., surnamed the Great. He reigned from 223 to 187 B. C.—**Rex Asiae.** This was his title before he was conquered, 190 B. C., by Scipio, and deprived of his possessions west of Mount Taurus. He was afterwards called King of Syria.

20. L. Scipione. Lucius Scipio, the brother of Scipio Africanus Major.—**Tauro.** Mount Taurus, in the southeastern part of Asia Minor.

21. Asiam, quae...provincia. See note on *Asiam*, p. 61, line 15.

25. Multam sustulerat, *had suffered punishment. Multam*, and not *poenam*, is used, because the punishment consisted in the *loss* of a portion of his empire.

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117 **31. Habere in...virtute**; i. e., that he has in himself, in his own mind and character, a possession which cannot be taken from him.

36. Asia, Cappadocia...Syria. These countries were the scene of the bloody wars which the Romans had so long been waging in Asia. In this list, Cicero uses the term *Asia* simply of the Roman province of that name, which did not include Cappadocia, Pontus, Cilicia, and Syria.

118 **6. Summa...sola bona.** The former was the doctrine of the Peripatetics, the latter of the Stoics.

15. Tarracone, *at Tarraco*, a city in Spain.

21. Res publica, *public service*, explained by *magna ejus officia... meum*, which refers to the service which Deiotarus rendered Cicero during the proconsulship of the latter in Cilicia.

25. Quibus semel ignotum esse oportet, *to whom pardon should have been granted once for all*, i. e., the pardon which has been granted should be valid forever.

32. Ipsa; i. e., *misericordia tua.*

33. Duos reges. King Deiotarus and his son are meant. See p. 117, line 26.

34. Id quod, *that influence which*, i. e., though he had refused to be influenced by anger, he will yield to a feeling of compassion.

119 **3. Sociorum regum et amicorum**, *of kings who are our allies and friends.*

11. Regum amicissimi, *most faithful friends of the kings*, i. e., of these two kings.

12. Exquire de Blesamio, *ascertain in regard to Blesamius.* See p. 116, lines 22 to 28.

26. Alterum, alterum, *the one*, i. e., sententiam...pestem importaturam esse regibus, *the other*, i. e., sententiam...famam cum salute importaturam, etc.—**Illorum**, *of those men*, i. e., of the accusers, Castor and Phidippus.

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THE FIRST PHILIPPIC,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SENATE, IN THE TEMPLE OF CONCORD, IN THE YEAR 44 B. C.

INTRODUCTION.

CAESAR was assassinated on the fifteenth of March, in the year 44 B. C. Mark Antony, his colleague in the consulship, at once sought safety in concealment, while the conspirators, but feebly supported by the people, fled to the capitol for shelter. For a time, general consternation prevailed, but a compromise was speedily effected. On the seventeenth of March the senate decreed a general amnesty, appointed a public funeral for Caesar, and confirmed all his acts. Quiet was happily restored, but it was destined to be of short duration. The funeral oration pronounced by Antony over the body of Caesar, so wrought upon the feelings of the people that, refusing to allow the remains to be removed to the Campus Martius, they proceeded to burn them with funeral honors in the Forum itself. The wildest excitement prevailed; party spirit was again aroused. Antony, not yet prepared to defy the senate, adopted conciliatory measures, and even proposed the abolition of the dictatorship. In the mean time, he was carefully maturing his ambitious designs. He was already in possession of Caesar's papers, and, professing to carry out the measures which he found in them, he began to remit taxes, distribute honors, and recall exiles. In all this he was supported by his colleague, P. Cornelius Dolabella, who had succeeded to the consulship made vacant by the death of Caesar.

In the mean time, Cicero, in deep despondency, had left Rome. The bright visions of the restored republic which gladdened his heart on the Ides of March, had forever vanished. For the next few months he remained comparatively inactive, and at length

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ORATION FOR KING DEIOTARUS,

DELIVERED BEFORE CAESAR, IN HIS OWN HOUSE, IN THE YEAR 45 B. C.

INTRODUCTION.

Deiotarus, in whose defence this oration was delivered, was tetrarch of Galatia, in Asia Minor. In the Mithridatic War he supported the Roman cause so warmly that the senate, in recognition of his services, added Armenia Minor to his dominions, and conferred upon him the title of king. In the Civil War he espoused the cause of Pompey, and was present with him in the disastrous battle of Pharsalia; but soon after that defeat he returned to Galatia, and at once availed himself of every means in his power to effect a reconciliation with Caesar. Accordingly, at the close of the African War, when that victorious commander, already sole master of Rome, appeared in Asia, Deiotarus, divesting himself of his royal robes, and assuming the garb of a suppliant, presented himself before him and implored pardon for the part which he had taken in the Civil War. Caesar not only granted his petition, but also restored to him his kingly title and his royal robes.

In the year 45 B. C., Deiotarus was accused by his own grandson, Castor, of having, two years before, formed the design of assassinating Caesar, who was at that time his guest. The accuser, moreover, alleged that his grandfather had, from the first, been at heart the foe of the Dictator, and that he had shown his hostility on several occasions. Deiotarus at once sent an embassy to Rome to reply to these charges. Phidippus, his physician and slave, accompanied the embassy, but was finally won over by Castor, and joined in the accusation. The case was tried before

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Caesar himself, in his own house. Cicero undertook the defence, and pronounced the oration now before us. The result of the trial is not known. It is probable that no decision was made.

ANALYSIS.

I. Introduction. I., II.
II. The Hopes of the Accusers. III.—V.
III. Refutation of the Charges. VI.—XII.
IV. Conclusion. XIII.—XV.

I., II. *Introduction. Cicero calls Attention to the Difficulties under which he speaks.*

PAGE

1. Quum...tum, *while...especially.* Here *quum* involves *concession,* as well as *time;* hence the Subjunctive *soleam.* 106

3. Aetas. Cicero was in his sixty-second year.

4. Fides, *fidelity,* i. e., fidelity to his client.

10. Pro perpetuis ejus...meritis. See Introduction, p. 282.

12. Alterius, alterius. The former refers to Castor, the latter to Phidippus. See Introduction.

13. Crudelem Castorem; G. 381.

15. Adolescentiae...intulerit, *in his youth has occasioned terror.* In Rome ambitious young men often sought to bring themselves into notice by prosecuting magistrates and prominent citizens.

19. A legatorum pedibus, *from the service of the ambassadors.* The reference is to the ambassadors whom Deiotarus sent to Rome to look after the defence. Phidippus accompanied them, but he finally yielded to the solicitations of Castor, and testified against his master.—**Fugitivi.** Phidippus is so called because he deserted the cause of his master.

1. Regiam = *regis.* 107

2. De fortunis...extimescebam. Cicero intimates his alarm for the public safety, if slaves should be allowed to testify against their masters.

3. Ne tormentis quidem, *not even by torture.* Though the rack was supposed to be very effective in eliciting truth, yet a slave could not even upon the rack testify against his master.

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5. Misit, *attempted to send.*—**Caecilium nescio quem,** *one Caecilius.* Q. Caecilius Bassus, a partisan of Pompey, is meant.

11. Causam illam, *that cause,* i. e., the cause of Pompey.

14. Addit. Castor adds, as a separate charge, that Deiotarus, when he aided Caesar against Pharnaces, did not send his best cavalry.

21. Alexandriae. Alexandria was the capital of Egypt.

23. Ei quem...praefeceras. Cn. Domitius. See note on the same, p. 110, line 5.

24. Ad periculum, etc. This refers to the expedition against Pharnaces.

25. Secutum...Africanum. This war, which began 47 B. C., was brought to a close by Caesar's victory at Thapsus, on the sixth of April of the following year.

30. Nicaeam Ephesumque, *to Nicaea and Ephesus;* the former a city in Bithynia, the latter in Ionia.

32. Domitium. Cn. Domitius, mentioned in line 23 as *quem Asiae praefecerat.* The report that he had perished at sea was false.—**Te in castello circumsederi.** In the winter of 47 and 46 B. C., Caesar was obliged to intrench himself, and to act only on the defensive.

33. Eadem sententia; Abl. of Characteristic; so also *qua.*

35. Pereant, etc. The authorship both of the original Greek and of the Latin version is unknown.—**Amici.** In the application of this verse, *amici* refers to Domitius, and *inimici* to Caesar.

1. Qui; G. 188, 3. 114

6. Furcifer, *the culprit,* i. e., Phidippus. Slaves were often compelled to bear upon their necks the *furca,* an instrument of punishment in the form of the letter V.

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114 **7. Vino se obruisse**, *surfeited himself with wine.*

8. Nudum, *in his tunic*, i. e., having thrown off his outer garment. For the host, or for any of his guests, thus to dance at a feast, was at least exceedingly undignified.

14. Fortem, etc. Supply *dici.*

20. Equitibus Romanis. The equestrian order, it will be remembered, included the bankers, the merchants, the farmers of the revenue, and, in fine, the business men of the Roman world.

22. Regium nomen, *the title of king.*

23. Quidquid a...vacabat, *when he was not occupied in.* G. 378.

24. Res rationesque — rerum rationes, *business relations.*

25. Tetrarches, *tetrarch*, his official title before the Romans made him king.

27. Qui. The antecedent is the pronoun *is.*—**Adolescens**; G. 363, 3.

34. Illam aetatem, *his advanced age.*—**Quibus studiis, ea** = *ea studia quibus.*

36. Ut uteretur. *Utendi* might have been used.

115 **3. Adolescens.** Castor. Cicero here takes occasion to rally him a little for his ostentatious display of skill in horsemanship. He served under Cicero when the latter was Proconsul of Cilicia, in Asia Minor.

4. Commilito. Cicero and Castor were both with Pompey in Greece.

6. Pater. The father was Castor Saocondarius, who had married the daughter of Deiotarus.—**Quos concursus**, *what crowds*, i. e., of spectators.

13. Ista domus, *that family of yours*, addressed to Castor.

19. Sint inimicitiae, *grant that there is enmity*, i. e., between yourself and Deiotarus.

21. Antea; construe with *quam.*

24. Gerere poteratis, non, *you might have conducted, and not.*

26. Adeone, ut, *is it, moreover, to be conceded that.* Supply *concedatur.*

29. Domum, *to your house.* G. 379, 3, 1).

32. A tanta auctoritate, *by so high authority*, i. e., by Caesar.

34. Id, quod intus est. Cicero refers thus contemptuously to the slave Phidippus.

35. Fit in dominatu, etc., *the slave becomes the master, the master the slave.*

116 **1. Cn. Domitius.** Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, tribune of the people 104 B. C., consul 96 B. C.

3. M. Scaurum. M. Scaurus Aemilius, consul 115 B. C.—**In ju-**

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dicium populi, *to trial before the people.* Scaurus was accused of having neglected certain religious rites. 116

6. Ad Scaurumque; G. 602, III. 4.

12. At, *but, it may be said.*—**Semel**, *only once.*—**Esset productus**, *he had been brought forward*, i. e., as a witness.

14. Cn. Domitium. Cn. Domitius Calvinus, already mentioned. See p. 110, line 5. *Hunc* implies that he is present at the trial.—**Ser. Sulpicio.** Servius Sulpicius Rufus, one of the most learned jurists of the age.

16. T. Torquato. Who this young man was is not known.

20. Domestica immanitate, *with the ferocity characteristic of your own home*, i. e., of a barbarian land in contrast with Rome (*nostrae civitatis*).

22. Quam acute, etc. This is addressed to Caesar. Notice the irony.—**Blesamius.** One of the ambassadors of Deiotarus.

25. Statua inter reges posita. By the decree of the senate, Caesar's statue was placed among those of the seven kings of Rome.

26. Plaudi tibi; G. 301, 1.

29. Multorum enim, etc. Ironical.

4. Si locus affert invidiam...clarior. Here Cicero touches 117
the real objection, but answers it only in part. The objection was not so much to the statue itself, or to its conspicuous position, as to the fact that it stood among the statues of the kings (*inter reges*). Caesar had two statues also upon the Rostra.

XIII.—XV. *Conclusion.*

16. Multatum. Caesar had taken some of the possessions of Deiotarus and given them to his own followers.

17. Multis tibi...tribuenda; i. e., that you must reward your numerous followers. *Multis*, Indirect Object; *tibi*, Dative of Agent.

19. Antiochus. Antiochus III., surnamed the Great. He reigned from 223 to 187 B. C.—**Rex Asiae.** This was his title before he was conquered, 190 B. C., by Scipio, and deprived of his possessions west of Mount Taurus. He was afterwards called King of Syria.

20. L. Scipione. Lucius Scipio, the brother of Scipio Africanus Major.—**Tauro.** Mount Taurus, in the southeastern part of Asia Minor.

21. Asiam, quae...provincia. See note on *Asiam*, p. 61, line 15.

25. Multam sustulerat, *had suffered punishment. Multam*, and not *poenam*, is used, because the punishment consisted in the *loss* of a portion of his empire.

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117 **31. Habere in...virtute**; i. e., that he has in himself, in his own mind and character, a possession which cannot be taken from him.

36. Asia, Cappadocia...Syria. These countries were the scene of the bloody wars which the Romans had so long been waging in Asia. In this list, Cicero uses the term *Asia* simply of the Roman province of that name, which did not include Cappadocia, Pontus, Cilicia, and Syria.

118 **6. Summa...sola bona.** The former was the doctrine of the Peripatetics, the latter of the Stoics.

15. Tarracone, *at Tarraco*, a city in Spain.

21. Res publica, *public service*, explained by *magna ejus officia... meum*, which refers to the service which Deiotarus rendered Cicero during the proconsulship of the latter in Cilicia.

25. Quibus semel ignotum esse oportet, *to whom pardon should have been granted once for all*, i. e., the pardon which has been granted should be valid forever.

32. Ipsa; i. e., *misericordia tua.*

33. Duos reges. King Deiotarus and his son are meant. See p. 117, line 26.

34. Id quod, *that influence which*, i. e., though he had refused to be influenced by anger, he will yield to a feeling of compassion.

119 **3. Sociorum regum et amicorum**, *of kings who are our allies and friends.*

11. Regum amicissimi, *most faithful friends of the kings*, i. e., of these two kings.

12. Exquire de Blesamio, *ascertain in regard to Blesamius.* See p. 116, lines 22 to 28.

26. Alterum, alterum, *the one*, i. e., sententiam...pestem importaturam esse regibus, *the other*, i. e., sententiam...famam cum salute importaturam, etc.—**Illorum**, *of those men*, i. e., of the accusers, Castor and Phidippus.

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THE FIRST PHILIPPIC,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SENATE, IN THE TEMPLE OF CONCORD, IN THE YEAR 44 B. C.

INTRODUCTION.

CAESAR was assassinated on the fifteenth of March, in the year 44 B. C. Mark Antony, his colleague in the consulship, at once sought safety in concealment, while the conspirators, but feebly supported by the people, fled to the capitol for shelter. For a time, general consternation prevailed, but a compromise was speedily effected. On the seventeenth of March the senate decreed a general amnesty, appointed a public funeral for Caesar, and confirmed all his acts. Quiet was happily restored, but it was destined to be of short duration. The funeral oration pronounced by Antony over the body of Caesar, so wrought upon the feelings of the people that, refusing to allow the remains to be removed to the Campus Martius, they proceeded to burn them with funeral honors in the Forum itself. The wildest excitement prevailed; party spirit was again aroused. Antony, not yet prepared to defy the senate, adopted conciliatory measures, and even proposed the abolition of the dictatorship. In the mean time, he was carefully maturing his ambitious designs. He was already in possession of Caesar's papers, and, professing to carry out the measures which he found in them, he began to remit taxes, distribute honors, and recall exiles. In all this he was supported by his colleague, P. Cornelius Dolabella, who had succeeded to the consulship made vacant by the death of Caesar.

In the mean time, Cicero, in deep despondency, had left Rome. The bright visions of the restored republic which gladdened his heart on the Ides of March, had forever vanished. For the next few months he remained comparatively inactive, and at length

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embarked for Greece by way of Syracuse; but having been driven back by unfavorable winds to Leucopetra, on the southern coast of Italy, he was informed that favorable tidings had recently been received from Rome, that there was a prospect of a complete reconciliation of parties, and that the state needed his presence and counsel. Accordingly, abandoning his contemplated visit to Greece, he hastened to Rome, where he arrived on the thirty-first of August. But his expectations were again disappointed. Antony, whose power was still unchecked, had summoned the senate to meet on the following day, to decree new honors to Caesar's memory. Cicero excused himself from attending, on the ground of fatigue and ill health; but Antony, losing his self-possession, rose in his place and assailed the absent senator with a tirade of abuse. On the following day, the senate was again in session, but Antony found it convenient to be absent. Cicero was present, and, in the course of the debate, delivered his First Philippic.* It was a masterly effort. With calm dignity and perfect self-possession, he explained his own course, stated his views of the duties of the hour, and exposed the ambitious designs of Antony.

ANALYSIS.

I. INTRODUCTION. I.—VI.
II. RATIFICATION OF CAESAR'S ACTS. VII.—X.
III. DANGERS OF THE PRESENT POLICY OF THE CONSULS. XI.—XV.

I.—VI. *Introduction. Cicero explains his recent Movements. He had planned a Journey to Greece, but had returned to Rome without accomplishing it. He replies to the Threats of Antony.*

PAGE
120 **3. Profectionis et reversionis.** See Introduction, p. 291. *Reversio* is the appropriate word, as Cicero returned without attaining the object of his journey.

* So called from the *Philippics* of Demosthenes pronounced against *Philip* of Macedon.

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4. Aliquando; i. e., after the assassination of Caesar on the Ides of March. 120

8. Eo die. This was the seventeenth of March.—**Aedem Telluris.** This was probably situated on the western slope of the Esquiline Hill. The senate met in this temple because the senate-house was too near the capitol, which was held by the conspirators.

9. Atheniensium...exemplum. The allusion is to the general amnesty proclaimed after the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants, 403 B. C. The Greek word which Cicero is said to have used was ἀμνηστία, equivalent to the Latin *oblivio*.

15. Per liberos—*per puerum.* Antony treated with Brutus and the other conspirators in the capitol, and sent them his son as a hostage.

19. Res optimas deferebat, *he reported most excellent measures.* This refers probably to the purport of documents found among Caesar's papers.—**Nihil tum...reperiebatur.** Subsequently Antony pretended to find many things of a very different character.

1. Num qui, etc. **Num immunitates**, etc. These inquiries relate to the purport of Caesar's papers.—**Unum.** This was probably Sex. Clodius, the unprincipled agent of the notorious Publius Clodius. 121

3. Ser. Sulpicio. See note on the same, p. 116, line 14.—**Ne qua tabula.** Laws were engraved upon brazen tablets, which were for a time exposed to public view, and then deposited in the treasury.

8. De qua...diximus; i. e., the proposition was adopted without debate.

16. Quod saepe justum. Originally dictators were appointed only in times of great danger. They were invested with almost unlimited power, but only for a period of six months. Sulla, in the year 82 B. C., was the first to make himself perpetual dictator.

18. Liberatus. The energetic measures adopted by Antony promised peace and security.

19. Uncus...fugitivo, etc. *Uncus* was the hook by which the bodies of executed criminals were dragged away and thrown into the Tiber. The allusion is to the pretender Amatius, who, claiming to be the grandson of C. Marius, Caesar's uncle, attempted to raise a disturbance, but was put to death by Antony.

21. Cum collega. P. Cornelius Dolabella became the colleague of Antony in the consulship after the death of Caesar.

22. Abfuisset. Antony was absent from the city during a part of April and May.—**Iis**; i. e., to Antony and Dolabella.

24. Bustum, *a monument;* called in line 30 below *columna.*

25. Illam insepultam sepulturam, *that irregular burial;* referring to the burning of Caesar's body, contrary to custom, in the Forum.

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121 **32. Ut...edixerant.** They had called a meeting of the senate.

33. Nihil per senatum, etc. Supply *fecit*. Antony procured the ratification of his measures by the *comitia*, but, according to Cicero, few respectable citizens were present.

34. Consules designati. C. Pansa and A. Hirtius.

122 **2. Veterani...caverat.** The senate had assigned lands to these veterans in various parts of Italy.

6. Jus...liberum. Dolabella had given him a commission as his lieutenant for his province of Syria. He calls it *liberum*, because he could use it or not at pleasure, at any time within a period of five years.

7. Kalendis Januariis...videbatur. Because upon that day the government would be organized under the new consuls.

11. Brundisium, etc. Brundisium, on the southeastern coast of Italy, the usual port of embarkation for Greece, was under the control of the partisans of Antony.

13. Syracusas, *to Syracuse;* an important city in Sicily.

19. Regini. See note on *Regini*, p. 49, line 32.

22. Intempesta nox, *late at night, the dead of night.*

26. Contionem. Of this speech we know only what we can gather from this passage.

28. Edictum Bruti et Cassii. This was probably the farewell proclamation which they issued on leaving Italy. Brutus and Cassius, it will be remembered, were leading conspirators.

31. Boni quid, *something good*, i. e., some good news.

33. Rem conventuram, *that an arrangement would be effected*, i. e., between opposing parties.

34. Remissis...Galliis. Antony endeavored to secure the province of Cisalpine Gaul for himself, although it had been assigned to D. Brutus. It was, moreover, at one time reported that he intended also to claim Transalpine Gaul.

123 **3. Ad tempus**; i. e., in time for the meeting of the senate on the first of September.—**Sed ne.** Supply *timebam* before *ne*.

5. Veliam, *to Velia*, a town in Lucania, in Southern Italy.

7. Ex qua Brutus, etc. Brutus the conspirator was going into voluntary exile.

12. L. Pisonis oratio. Piso, Caesar's father-in-law, advocated the authority of the senate.

13. Id ipsum, *this fact itself.*

17. Hunc ut sequerer, *to support him.*

22. Erga se, *towards herself*, i. e., to the state. *Se* rather than *eam* is used to give prominence to *rei publicae*, as if he had said *ut res publica haberet.*

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24. Utriusque consilii = *profectionis et reversionis.* 123

26. Antonii injuria. This refers to the threats of Antony in consequence of the absence of Cicero from his place in the senate. See Introduction, p. 291.

27. Idque me debere esse, *and that I ought to be so,* lit., *this,* i. e., a friend.

31. Ea res, ut, *such a subject that.*

32. Hannibal, Pyrrhi. Hannibal was the celebrated Carthaginian general with whom the Romans waged the Second Punic War, 219 to 201 B. C. Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, invaded Italy 280 B. C. Observe the irony in this passage.

34. Appium. Appius Claudius persuaded the senate to reject the terms proposed by Pyrrhus.

35. De supplicationibus, etc. When a thanksgiving was decreed in honor of a victorious general, senators were ordinarily very ready to show their interest in the subject by attending. The proposition of Antony, however, seems to have been that, at all future thanksgivings, honor should be paid to Caesar as a deified hero.

1. Pignoribus. The consuls had a right to demand pledges of 124
senators as security for their attendance.

6. Cum fabris...venturum esse, i. e., for the purpose of demolishing it.

10. Publice; construe with *aedificatam.* Cicero's house, which was destroyed by Clodius, was rebuilt at the public expense.

12. Quam sententiam dicturus essem. Cicero would, of course, have opposed the measure recommended by Antony.

16. Parentalia, *festivals in honor of deceased relatives.*

17. Inexpiabiles religiones, *unpardonable rites.*

19. Brutus. L. Junius Brutus, who, five hundred years before, aided in expelling King Tarquin. He is here represented as the ancestor of M. Brutus, Caesar's assassin.

26. Eam, ut possem, *such that I might.*

29. Quae partim...partim, *some of which...others.*

1. Ne unus modo, *that not one only;* referring to Piso. See p. 123, 125
line 12.

9. Quae, malum! est ista, etc., *what, the mischief, means that,* etc. G. 590.

10. Fuerit quaedam necessaria, *some of it may have been compulsory.* It was so of course on the part of the followers of Antony.—**Hoc,** *this,* i. e., that one should express one's own convictions and maintain the right.

15. Alium deesse. This depends upon *suspicionem.*

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VII.—X. *Cicero favors the Ratification of the Acts of Caesar, but protests against Certain Measures which Antony professed to have found in the Dictator's Private Papers.*

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125 **25. Sine advocatis**, *without his assistants;* referring to the soldiers who attended him the day before.

27. Doceret; construe, like *adesset*, with *vellem*.

34. Promisit; i. e., in his memoranda.

126 **4. Pecunia utinam**, etc. The public money in the Temple of Ops amounted, at the death of Caesar, to almost $30,000,000. Antony took possession of this money. The Temple of Ops stood on the Capitoline Hill.—**Ad Opis**; G. 397, 1.

5. Cruenta, *blood-stained*, so called because of the manner in which it was collected by Caesar.

10. Gracchi. C. Sempronius Gracchus, who, as tribune for the years 123 and 122 B. C., made many reforms in the interest of the people. His laws embodying these reforms are called the Sempronian Laws, from Sempronius, as laws and ordinances were usually called after the middle name (*nomen*) of the proposer.—**Sullae.** L. Cornelius Sulla, the well-known Dictator. His measures, embodied in the Cornelian Laws, were in the interest of the senate and the aristocracy.

19. Optima re publica, *in the best period of the republic.*

20. Ne praetoriae...obtinerentur. This is the purport of one of Caesar's own laws, the *Julia Lex de Provinciis.* Provinces were called praetorian or consular, accordingly as they were governed by praetors or consuls.

23. De tertia decuria, *in regard to the third decury*, or *class;* i. e., of judges. The Aurelian Law, 70 B. C., established three classes (*decuriae*) of judges; one to be selected from senators, one from knights, and one from the tribunes of the treasury. Caesar, by his *Lex Julia*, abolished the last class, but Antony put in its place a third class consisting chiefly of centurions and soldiers. See note on *ex dissensione*, etc., p. 44, line 1; also on *judices*, p. 48, line 1.

28. Quod, id, *but that which.* G. 587, III. 4.—**Centuriatis comitiis.** See note on *centuriis*, p. 60, line 15.

30. Isti ordini...lege Julia, etc. Under those laws, a Roman citizen who held the office of centurion had just as good prospects of an appointment as judge, as he would have had if not a centurion, but no better.

31. Julia, Aurelia. See note on *de tertia centuria*, line 23 above.

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—**Pompeia.** The Pompeian Law, passed 55 B. C., imposed a property 126
qualification; hence *census praefiniebatur.*

34. Qui ordines duxerunt, *who have led the companies*, i. e., have been centurions.

1. Quod est lautius. A position in the cavalry was more highly 127
esteemed than one in the infantry.

3. Legione Alaudarum. This was one of the legions which Caesar raised in Gaul.

6. Legis index, *the purport of the law.*

10. Sordes, *low birth.*

13. De vi et majestatis, *for violence and treason.* G. 410, II. and 4, 3).

25. Ad eam ipsam vim reverti. The appeal to the people would be made for the sole purpose of resisting the authority of the court, and of preventing the decision from being put into execution.

34. Quid est aliud hortari, *what is this but exhorting*, lit., *to exhort is what else.*

1. Quid quod obrogatur, etc., *what of the fact that a change is* 128
made in, etc. Lat. Comp., 482. *Obrogatur* is impersonal; *legibus* is in the Dative. G. 301, 1.

2. Ei aqua...interdici. Practically, this was equivalent to a sentence of banishment, which could not be pronounced against a Roman citizen except in this indirect manner.

9. Fixas, *published*, more literally, *posted up;* i. e., in some public place. See note on *ne qua tabula*, p. 121, line 3.

11. A mortuo; i. e., by Caesar.

14. Uno auctore. Antony is meant.

16. Quibus latis; G. 580.—**Eisque;** G. 453, 2.

21. Ne id quidem, *not even this*, i. e., to object to them. The people had no opportunity to object to the passage of these laws, as they were never proposed for their consideration.

27. Quas tu. Supply *narras*, or *memoras.*

33. Illa legitima, *those words prescribed by law*, referring to the words *consules populum*, etc., the usual preamble in such cases.

34. Rogaverunt. See note on *quae rogatae sunt*, p. 10, line 31.

3. Promulgatis, *proposed*, not yet enacted, so that the question of 129
their passage is still an open one (*est integrum vobis*).

XI.—XV. *The Evils and Dangers of the Course which the Consuls are pursuing.*

6. Vos, *you*, i. e., Dolabella and his absent colleague, Antony.

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129 **10. Avorum et avunculi.** The allusion is to his paternal grandfather, M. Antonius, the orator, consul 99 B. C.; to his maternal grandfather, L. Julius Caesar, consul 90 B. C.; and to his maternal uncle, L. Julius Caesar, consul 64 B. C.

11. Sed eum...audio. These words resume the thought interrupted by the long parenthesis. *Eum* and *audio* virtually repeat *collegam* and *aiunt*.

14. Proponam jus aequum, *I will make a fair proposition.* It is contained in the next sentence: *Ego si*, etc.—**Opinor, arbitror.** See Syn. L. C. 576.

27. Feremus amici naturam, *we will bear with a friend's natural disposition.*

29. Quod cavebimus. These words are not to be regarded as a part of the warning, but as expressing Cicero's intention to guard against the danger.

31. Quam mortis, *than that of death*, i. e., the danger or fear of death. Cicero seems to intimate that he does not intend to appear in the senate in future at the risk of his life. If sickness is a valid excuse for absence from the senate, the danger of death is surely no less so.

130 **9. Expiato foro...impiorum.** Dolabella removed the column which had been erected in the Forum in honor of Caesar, and dispersed the rabble. See p. 121, lines 24 to 31.

13. Quo auctore, *by whose advice*, lit., *whom as an adviser.*

15. Consensum illum theatri, *that unanimity of the whole audience in the theatre*, referring to the applause with which he was greeted in the theatre after he had thrown down Caesar's column.

16. Tibi offensi. Dolabella had made himself very unpopular while tribune of the people.

22. In aede Telluris. See p. 120, lines 9 and 14: also note on *aedem Telluris*, p. 120, line 8.—**Non**; G. 346, II. 1, 2).

25. Senatus. Subject of *liberatus est*, understood.

27. Auspiciorum a te, etc. Antony at first attempted to invalidate the election of Dolabella by declaring the omens unfavorable.

29. In Capitolium. The conspirators had taken refuge in the capitol. Antony sealed the compact which he made with them by sending them his own son as a hostage.

36. Dictaturae nomen sustulisti. See Introduction, p. 291.

131 **2. M. Manlii.** This was Marcus Manlius, who saved the capitol from the Gauls, 390 B. C., but was afterwards put to death on a charge of aiming at royal power.

3. Manlium Marcum. These names are not to be construed together. *Manlium* is the subject of *vocari*, *Marcum* the predicate after it.

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9. Licet quod...loquatur, *every one may say what he pleases*, lit., 131
what pleases every one. The subject of *loquatur* is *quisque* to be supplied from *cuique.*

12. Domestici. Cicero doubtless refers especially to Antony's wife Fulvia, who was notoriously avaricious.

21. Quod, *this*, i. e., *metui*, etc. *Quod* is the subject of *fuisse.*—**Illi ipsi**, *to that very one*, i. e., to Atreus, in the tragedy of that name, by Attius.

23. Avum tuum. M. Antonius, the orator. See note on *avorum*, p. 129, line 10.

25. Ut metueretur, *in such a way as to be feared.*

29. L. Cinnae. L. Cinna, the famous leader of the popular party, colleague of Marius in the consulship 86 B. C.

7. Gladiatoribus, *at the gladiatorial contests.* Supply *significant* 132
from line 10 below.

8. Statuae; Dative, depending upon *dati*, or some similar word to be supplied.

9. Tribunis plebis. Probably Ti. Canutius and L. Cassius.

11. Apollinarium ludorum. These games were celebrated on the seventh of July, with great pomp and display. Brutus the conspirator, as praetor urbanus, defrayed the expenses. Cicero represents the applause of the people as an approval of the course of the conspirators.

14. Ipsis...non licebat. The leading conspirators had deemed it prudent to leave the city.

16. Attio. The tragic poet, whose Tereus was acted at these games.—**Sexagesimo post anno**; i. e., sixty years after his tragedy was first brought upon the stage.

17. Ludis suis caruit, *was not permitted to attend his own games.* Brutus, as praetor urbanus, had charge of these games; hence *ludis suis.*

28. A. Hirtii. A. Hirtius, consul-elect, whose illness had caused great solicitude.

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